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By George Haven Putnam

A Memoir of George Palmer Putnam
A Prisoner of War in Virginia (1864-5)
Abraham Lincoln
The Censorship of the Church of Rome
Books and Their Makers during the Middle Ages
Authors and Their Public in Ancient Times
The Question of Copyright
The Little Gingerbread Man
The Artificial Mother
Authors and Publishers
Memories of My Youth
Memories of a Publisher

Gen. Haven Putnam

L.E.
Paterson

Memories of a Publisher

1865–1915

By

George Haven Putnam, Litt.D.

Late Brevet Major, 176th Regt., N. Y. S. Vols.

Author of "Memoir of G. P. Putnam," "Memories of My Youth," "Life of Lincoln," "Books and Their Makers," etc.

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GEORGE HAVEN PUTNAM

The Knickerbocker Press, New York

To

E. J. P.

IN MEMORY OF YEARS OF

SYMPATHETIC AND VITALIZING COMPANIONSHIP,

THIS VOLUME IS DEDICATED BY

THE AUTHOR

INTRODUCTION

IN 1912 I brought into publication a Memoir of George P. Putnam, in which, in addition to an estimate of the character and services of my father, I gave an account of the publishing firm founded by him, the record closing with 1872, the year of his death.

In 1914, I published a volume, prepared chiefly for the information of my children and grandchildren, entitled *Memories of My Youth.* In this I narrated what I could remember of school days, of my experiences in French and German universities, and of the years of my service in the Civil War—a service which terminated in 1865, when with my twenty-first year, I attained citizenship.

The present volume continues the account of the Putnam publishing concern from 1872; I have, however, not attempted any detailed record, for which there was, in fact, no adequate material. It seemed sufficient to make reference only to certain of the more distinctive of the publishing undertakings and to a few of the long list of authors with whom our personal relations have been important or interesting.

The book continues also, from 1865 to 1915, the account of my personal undertakings and interests. I have not attempted to present a consecutive or complete narrative, for which, as my years have been too crowded to leave time for the keeping of a diary, I had

no data within reach. I have jotted down what I could remember of certain people, some of them decidedly interesting people, with whom, during the past half century, I have had the opportunity of coming into relations, in connection either with business or with public work, or in social channels. The list of persons referred to fails to include not a few of my most valued friends. This is not because their companionship and sympathy have not constituted a most potent factor in my life, but because such personal relations did not seem to be properly a matter of public concern or likely to prove of interest to the reader.

To these memories of people, I have added references to certain events which, during the past fifty years, had served to make current history; and I have thought it worth while to place on record my opinions or conclusions on some of the questions of the day which had, during the past fifty years, been active issues before the community.

I may admit that my views on such matters as honest money, civil service reform, municipal administration, copyright, etc., possess no importance over those of any other average citizen of my time; but I am inclined to think that a faithful record of the experience of one generation in the management of its problems should prove of interest and service to the men of the next generation in their struggle for the solution of more or less similar perplexities.

The sons ought to have the service of the experience of their fathers, whether this experience stands for failure or for success. Each man is in a position to pass on something to his fellows and to those that are to follow him. The genius can hand down the teachings of his inspiration, which have value for thousands, but even the ordinary man who tells simply how he has lived his life

has something to give that can be made to help the lives of others.

It is with such a belief and with such a hope that I have put together this volume of Memories of later life.

Since the war, the author (it would not be correct to say the writer) has not had the use of a writing arm, while he has also been hampered with restricted eyesight. The preparation of this volume would, therefore, have been impossible if it had not been for the sympathetic and intelligent co-operation of his two secretaries, his daughter Ethel, and Miss Charlotte M. Zamow, for whose invaluable service he now makes grateful acknowledgments.

The year in which this volume is completed is one of sadness and apprehension for Europe and for the whole civilized world.

I find myself in accord with those who are working for such an association of the states of the world as shall bring about a permanent policy of peace. These men are hoping that the present war will result in the crushing of the Hohenzollern dream of imperial domination and will bring to an end the attempt to control the people of Europe by the Prussian policy of militarism. They see no other way in which can be realized the dream of a great federation of states the relations of which shall be directed by an international court. The decisions of such a court, enforced by an adequate world's police, naval and military, should ensure the enforcement of justice and the maintenance of peace throughout the United States of the World just as today the decisions of our own Supreme Court, enforced by the authority of the nation, secure justice and maintain peace throughout the United States of America.

The year has brought to myself a sharp reminder of certain physical limitations that must be looked for in

the eighth decade of one's life, and it was mainly due to this reminder that I thought it desirable to bring to completion this volume of reminiscences, the several chapters of which had been in train during a series of years.

In spite of not a few disappointments and the failure to accomplish a number of things aimed for and worked for, and the imperfections of the things that have been accomplished, the years have brought to me a fair share of happiness.

It has always seemed to me one of the saddest of possibilities that a man might during the period of his later years be left alone,—as Goldsmith puts it:

> Remote, unfriended, melancholy, slow.

Against such a misfortune, I have found myself fortunately insured, as well in the possession of a loyal home circle as in relations of friendship.

The business of the publishing House, which constitutes a monument to the memory of its founder, is being conducted by an adequate group of his sons and grandsons, and whatever there may be of my own individuality that is worthy of preservation may be safely confided to the memories of the wife, the daughters, and the son.

In passing over to the public—or rather to such small portion of the public as is likely to be interested—this record of an active life, I may express the hope that I have utilized to the best of my ability the opportunities that have come to me and the belief that I have received in return all that I was entitled to.

G. H. P.

New York, August, 1915.

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Memories of a Publisher

Memories of a Publisher

CHAPTER I

New York in the Sixties

Beginning Business. In September, 1865, I landed in New York from Savannah. I was returning home at the completion of service in the field during the three years from September, 1862. The record of this service has been given in an earlier volume. I had reached my twenty-first year, and in October I was able to register for my first legal vote and to begin in due form my career as a citizen. The three years of service in the army had, of course, had their own value for experience. In any case, for a youngster who was the eldest of seven boys and the only one old enough to go to the front, such service was, under the conditions of the war, inevitable. I was fortunate to have been spared to return home with no injury from wounds, although there was some impairment of health due to swamp fevers in Louisiana and to the privations of prison life in Virginia. In the several positions that I had held in my regiment, as private, sergeant, quartermaster, adjutant, acting chaplain, and acting major, I had learned how to obey and had doubtless secured better knowledge of men than could have come to me at the

age of twenty-one in any experience in college or in business. There was, however, of necessity, a loss, that could never be made up, of whatever advantages were to be obtained during the years between eighteen and twenty-one in college training. I had never ceased to regret the sacrifice of what may be called the groundwork of education that comes to any fairly industrious student in the ordinary college course. I had also missed the personal relations with classmates, which are, I find, valued, and very properly valued, by college men throughout all their later years. The loss of the opportunity of utilizing the years of youth for getting a first start in business was to me a matter of smaller regret. It was true that, during the years of war in which, while certain business interests were depressed, there had come about large opportunities for advantage in special and sometimes speculative channels, youngsters of about my generation, or even younger, had often been able to bring together proceeds which in some cases proved to be the beginnings of great fortunes. On this point, however, I did not trouble myself seriously. I could not but think that there would be opportunities in the future for making money if that proved to be in itself desirable. I found that my father had requirement for any business ability that I might be found to possess. He was at the time of my return holding the post of Collector of Internal Revenue to the Eighth District of New York, to which he had been appointed in 1862 by President Lincoln. The appointment had come more particularly through the recommendation of Mr. Bryant, whose name headed the list of the six bondsmen. My father's publishing interests had, during the term of his office as Collector, been placed in the hands of his friends, Hurd & Houghton, but some service was required to keep track of this business and of the accounts. The books were being sold by Hurd & Houghton, but the accounts with

the authors had still to be taken care of under my father's direction. My father gave me the appointment of Deputy Collector, and I had the responsibility of placing my signature on the receipts to the taxpayers. The Eighth District included the Murray Hill region which at that time contained the largest income payers in the United States. I remember handling a receipt to A. T. Stewart for a payment of over $225,000. This payment covered the special war tax assessed for the incomes to 1864, and Stewart's income for that year had, therefore, been not less than $2,250,000. My signature has never been worth so much since. I was also placed in charge of the accounts of the publishing business, and I had the opportunity, in frequent visits to Hurd & Houghton, of securing some ideas which were to be valuable to me later as to the methods of conducting a publishing business.

Early in 1866, as a result of a difference of opinion between my father and the leaders who were managing the political affairs of President Andrew Johnson, and who were apportioning upon the office-holders the assessments required for Johnson's political campaign, my father's term in office as Collector was brought to a close. The account of this matter, which was by no means creditable to the intelligence or common-sense of the management of that time of the relations between the national government and its officials, is given in detail in the Memoir of my Father. He took his publications out of the hands of Hurd & Houghton, whose management of his publishing interests had been faithful and effective, and, with myself as a junior (and entirely inexperienced) partner, reconstituted the publishing concern under the name of G. P. Putnam & Son. My knowledge of the publishing business, or of business of any kind, was at that time practically nil, but I was glad to find that the training I had secured during my service as quarter-

master, as commissary, and as regimental executive, could be utilized to advantage in the systematizing of office details and in the management of an office staff.

The resources of the publishing concern, and the resources of publishing business generally, had been seriously impaired during the four years of war conditions; and it was by no means an easy task in the years immediately succeeding the war to build up, with inadequate capital, a publishing business. The burden of war taxation was rather greater for those years than it had been while the war was going on. During the four years in which the Republic was fighting for its existence, the people had made cheerfully great financial sacrifices. It was only, however, when the great struggle was over and the citizens realized that the country was saved, that their thoughts were again free to return to their own individual concerns and their business requirements. In addition to the enormous loss of resources, the war had, of course, in its destruction to life and in the undermining of the health of thousands of those whose lives had been spared, further weakened the actual wealth of the country. The enormous blunders of the reconstruction period, which delayed so seriously the restoration of the commercial and industrial life of the South, affected also unfavourably the interests of the merchants in the North, who had been hoping again to build up trade relations in the States south of Mason and Dixon's line. In spite, therefore, of the great feeling of satisfaction for what had been accomplished by the war and the relief of the families whose representatives had been spared to come back, the ten years succeeding 1865 were, for many, years of trouble and of anxiety. The revival of business was for years to come also interfered with and hampered by the continuance of the oppressive war taxes and by the unsettled condition of the currency. The premium on gold lasted

for a period of about ten years after the close of the war, and during these years, as far as specie payments were concerned, the banks continued to be in a state of suspension. Merchants doing business with Europe were obliged to pay higher prices for their goods on the ground of the resulting impairment of individual as well as of national credit. Market prices continued high and lessened slowly only as the premium on gold fell. The fact that the standard of value was not fixed necessarily interfered with a wholesome extension of business. Merchants bought from hand to mouth in the expectation that in the near future they might be able to make their purchases at closer rates.

The special war taxes were in 1867 taken off from American manufactures and a year or two later the taxes that had been collected through check stamps and receipt stamps were also cancelled, but the long list of customs charges remained at the high war rates. It was the expectation that in 1866, as the government expenditures were reduced, and the corresponding burdens on American manufacturers were cancelled, these customs charges would also be scaled down. During the half century after the close of the war, the country saw a succession of modifications of the tariff, but with the single exception of the Cleveland–Wilson tariff of 1894, all the revisions resulted in an actual increase in the greater portion of the duties, so that new burdens were placed upon the public.

It was the hope that the Dingley Bill, the monstrosity of 1899, which imposed higher duties than had ever before been known in this country (or I believe in any other), must constitute the culmination in this long series of legislative abominations, but the year 1909 witnessed the enactment of a tariff act which had been introduced into Congress with the avowed purpose of reducing the

burdens of taxation, but which, for a long series of articles of general consumption, actually increased the amounts paid by the American consumer. The consumer had the further annoyance that by far the larger portion of the heavy expenditures made through the tariff went, not into the national treasury, but into the pockets of a favoured clique of manufacturers who had been permitted to shape in the committee rooms the tariff provisions for the articles in which they were directly interested.

In 1866, while there was, as stated, a revival of business activity throughout the community, and while there was a good deal of wealth that had been chiefly made through speculation in products the prices of which had been increased by the war, it was the case that this new wealth was largely in the hands of citizens not interested in literature. The book-buying of the South had, with the beginning of the war, come practically to an end, and there was no revival of it for a long series of years thereafter. A considerable portion of the people in the North who before the war had been buyers of books, were, in the years succeeding 1866, no longer able to indulge in such luxuries. These were the people who had fixed incomes payable in the legal tender of the day. During the years of the appreciation of gold, the income coming to rentiers of this class in the form of legal-tender paper dollars brought to its possessor so much smaller return in purchasing power or in securing the necessities of life, that for all practical purposes his income was seriously curtailed. Through this change in currency values, or in exchange values, thousands of retired merchants, women, and others, no longer able to take advantage of business opportunities, were reduced to comparative poverty. These were the people who had constituted a large portion of the book-buying community. The *nouveaux riches*, who had made money out of shady contracts or through

speculations in pork, could not easily be reached by the publishers of standard literature. For some time, therefore, after the close of the war, the sales of books in higher-class literature continued to be disappointing, and the only offsetting advantage was that during this period outsiders were not tempted into the publishing business.

In taking hold of business responsibilities with my father, I found that his vitality had been impaired through years of constant work and of continuous anxieties, and that he no longer possessed his old-time elasticity and hopefulness. He had gone through his life with hardly an illness, and with an enormous capacity for work, but, in common with many other Americans, his strength was now impaired by long nervous strain. My relations with him during these years of our business association were very close. I had myself had no business experience, excepting the few months in the Collector's office, and there the requirements were very different from those in a publishing concern. My personal interests were in fact in quite a different direction. If the family conditions had permitted, I should after the close of the war have resumed my scientific training. I might, in returning to Göttingen, have completed my studies in forestry, and have returned to the country to be an early worker (in fact I should have been practically the first American worker) in the task of building up a forestry system for the States and for the national territories. It was evident to me, however, that, with the conditions obtaining at the close of the war, my service, however inadequate, was absolutely needed by my father. In place, therefore, of going back to chemistry, physiological botany, and forestry, I devoted myself to the mastery of bookkeeping.

My father put into my hands the management of the finances and of the accounts of the concern. He said frankly that he had himself never been much of an ac-

countant and that the disaster that had come upon him in 1857 was in large part due to the fact that he had handed over to another the full control of this all-important division of his business. "Now, Haven," he added, "I can transfer the charge of the cash and of the accounts to my partner with a sense of absolute confidence." He was right enough in his confidence in the integrity of purpose of his junior, but he hardly realized how much that junior had to learn. Without business training or experience, and unskilled in general affairs, I was hardly in a position to render any valuable service in publishing undertakings. During the whole period of our partnership, however, whatever the worries or disappointments, I do not recall a single occasion in which a bitter, or even an impatient, word came from the senior. The spirit of gentleness and the sturdy patience of my father's nature seemed to be proof against all trials. With a keen sense of justice, he never permitted himself to make those about him unhappy or uncomfortable because he himself might be in trouble, or because his calculations had gone wrong. Even when there was legitimate cause for criticism or for reprimand, the word of reproof was always administered with so much personal consideration and with such evident hesitancy of regret that the principal feeling produced upon the delinquent was one of sympathy with the chief that he should have found occasion for so painful a duty.

Some Friends of my Father. I had the privilege of coming into personal relations with some of the noteworthy citizens who were friends of my father, and to whom reference has already been made in the earlier Memoir. I may recall, among others, George William Curtis, William Cullen Bryant, Parke Godwin, Frederick Beecher Perkins, Edmund Clarence Stedman, Bayard Taylor, Dr. Francis Lieber, Richard Henry Stoddard, John Jay, and Henry W. Bellows.

The personality of Dr. Francis Lieber, who called from time to time at the office, was impressed upon my memory. He used to delight in telling me of his experience as a soldier. He had been one of the young recruits called into service in the Prussian fight for freedom of 1815, when the spirit of domination that was to be fought against by Europe was not that of the Hohenzollern, which in this year, 1914, constitutes the impending shadow, but that of Napoleon Bonaparte. Lieber had fought under Blücher, and had been wounded at Ligny, and carried with him (with some pride) throughout his life the limp that recalled the French bullet. Lieber was a great jurist, and had been a valuable counsellor for the Administration in Washington. He was keenly interested in the subject of international copyright, and took part in one of the organizations of which my father was secretary. He was fully conscious of his own abilities and felt that he was a citizen of world-wide reputation. I remember his coming into the office one morning with a question on his lips. "Now, friend Putnam, and you Putnam, Jr., who in your opinion is the most conceited man at this time in our country?" I saw by the expression of my father's face that the impression in his mind was the same as that in mine, but, under the circumstances, we could hardly speak out our thoughts. Lieber then went on with the theory that the conceited culprit was Salmon P. Chase.

The most attractive personality in the group of my father's friends was George William Curtis, whose earlier relations with my father have already been referred to. I had remembered at the time of Curtis's visits to our country home in Yonkers being impressed with his distinctive beauty, his grace of manner, and his charm of utterance. As a young man, he already possessed the exquisitely toned voice which in later life helped him to become one of the orators of the country. I was struck

at once by his natural feeling of consideration for those about him. A good-looking and clever youngster beginning to make his work felt in the world is as a rule a self-absorbed and subjective personality, but it was evident from the quiet sympathetic interest that Curtis expressed (expressed as if he really felt it) in the life of our home circle, in which he was a frequent visitor, that he was a man of ready understanding and of large sympathy. These were the qualities that gave him through life an assured charm and an increasing influence. It was difficult for any man to withstand a wish of Curtis, or to fail to feel the fullest confidence in the relation of Curtis to any purpose or work to which he was devoting himself, and the purposes and the work to which during the seventy years of his life he gave his time and his great abilities were always for the interest of the community. He remains in my memory as the best possible type of an American gentleman, a leader to whom politics meant not a game of trickery carried on for personal advantage, but an expression of convictions and an attempt so to shape the opinions of men that the interest of the state should be maintained and furthered. I found myself later associated with Mr. Curtis in the work of the Copyright League and in that of the Civil Service Reform Association. The record of the fight for copyright, in which Curtis was one of the most valued leaders, will be told later.

If the political ambitions of Curtis had equalled his political capacity, he might easily have gone far in leadership. He realized, however, at an early date that while his influence could be made effective in helping to bring about sound judgment on certain of the issues of the day, he was not of a temperament to be accepted under the political methods then in force for larger political leadership or for national office. Curtis would have adorned any

office to which he might have been elected or appointed. He was a scholar with full knowledge of history and with a trustworthy memory that enabled him to bring his knowledge of the past to bear effectively and ingeniously upon the elucidation of the problems of the present. He was a charming speaker, and his speeches at times reached a high level of eloquence. Through the years of his active life, his influence was given to elevating the standard of American politics. In the work of civil service reform, he took an early and active part in company with citizens like Carl Schurz, Dorman B. Eaton, Daniel C. Gilman, E. L. Godkin, Charles Collins, Everett P. Wheeler, Edward Cary, and other good citizens, and he was during the last years of his life President of the National Civil Service Reform Association. For some years he held the position of political editor of *Harper's Weekly*, and his leaders in the *Weekly*, uniting as they did trenchant force of conviction with graceful charm of expression, gave what might be called the keynote to the purpose and to the possibilities of political reform and of the highest standard of political action. These leaders were backed up with graphic force by the clever cartoons of Thomas Nast, at that time the art editor of the *Weekly*.

Curtis, who had been an old-time anti-slavery worker and who had taken part in the organization of the Republican party, found more difficulty than did Schurz in shaking off the party ties. For Curtis, as for many other independent Republicans, the cleavage came with the Blaine campaign, when he found himself, not a little to his own surprise, speaking, as always, eloquently, and working with full vigour in behalf of the Democratic candidate. Curtis was offered by President Hayes the post of Minister to St. James, a place for which on every ground, except that of an income sufficient to make good the absurdly inadequate allowance of salary, he was admirably fitted.

He would have made an honourable addition to the long list of distinguished Americans who have represented the Republic in London. Mrs. Curtis was, however, more or less of an invalid, and she dreaded the responsibilities that come to a Minister's wife. She was devoted to her brilliant husband, but was curiously jealous of his political ambitions and of any influence that carried him out into the public and away from his hearthstone. She had no ambitions for his career, and it is quite possible that this adverse influence constituted, in addition to his own independence of character, an important obstacle in the way of his securing a continued leadership in national affairs.

I had the privilege of coming into close association with Curtis in the work of the executive committee of the Civil Service Reform Association during the years of his presidency and later in the fight for international copyright. He always impressed me as the highest type of American citizen, a man to be charmed with and to be enthusiastic about. It was a liberal education for a young man to have the privilege of association with a leader whose ideals were so high, whose methods were so intelligent, and whose intellectual powers were so distinguished and so fully under control.

Parke Godwin had been associated with my father in the earlier years of the business, and was again from time to time a visitor in our publishing office. Godwin and Curtis were curiously antithetical to each other, but they had become close friends. Godwin had a strong head and fine eyes, but was otherwise homely. He was somewhat rough in his manners and occasionally, as I thought, affectedly rough in his dress and expression. He could and did write forcible English, but he permitted himself in his writings a larger freedom of utterance than would have seemed fitting, or even possible, to the more refined standard of Curtis. As far back as January, 1856, Godwin had

contributed to *Putnam's Monthly* an article setting forth the principles upon which must be founded the new political party at that time in process of formation. The main purpose of the party, namely the restriction of slavery within the limits of the territory at that time occupied, the fulfilment of the obligations entered into by the Fathers of the Republic in 1789, and confirmed in 1820 and 1850, and the protection of the territory of the Republic from any further incursions of slavery, was set forth with admirable clearness and force.

At the first National Convention of the new Republican party held in June, 1856, which resulted in the nomination of Frémont and Dayton, young Godwin, who was present as a representative of the press, was called upon to do service as clerk for the committee on platform. As a result of this more or less accidental appointment, certain of the important planks in the platform came to be identical in character and almost identical in expression with Godwin's article in *Putnam's Monthly*.

The principles of the Republican party were, of course, the result of the work of hundreds of thinkers and of leaders, but Godwin might justly claim a large share in the credit for the first formulation of these principles. It was as a result of the contentions maintained in the Chicago Convention that Abraham Lincoln was elected President, and that the long fight against slavery was finally brought to a close in 1865 with the success of the war for the maintenance of the Union.

Church Associations. At the time of my return from the army, I was still a member of the First Baptist Church. During my service in the regiment, I had undertaken, in addition to my responsibilities as adjutant, to do the work of the chaplain, whom it had been necessary to dismiss for general unfitness. The longer I preached, the less of a Calvinist I found myself, and shortly after my return, I

made application to the deacons who were in charge of the Church, which was at that time without a pastor, to put me out. Objections were raised, and I was interested to discover that there was elasticity in the interpretation of my obligations as a Calvinist, but my own convictions in the matter were clear, and later I secured what might be called an honourable discharge. Before making my application to the deacons, I thought it desirable, however, to test more fully the foundations of my belief, and partly for this purpose and partly because I felt it to be in order to render some service to the church in whose membership my name had for some years been included, I accepted an appointment to do some teaching in a mission school in Mulberry Street. The building of the First Baptist Church was at that time in Broome Street (this building was later transferred to the Congregation of a Synagogue) and its diocese or parish responsibility extended southward through the tenth ward. The class of which I took charge for a couple of hours on Sunday afternoon included "hoodlums" of various nationalities, and the matter of discipline gave me some anxiety. In the task of keeping the boys in order, however, my experience in the regiment stood me in good stead. My pupils knew that I was a veteran officer, and a few dark references to the methods of discipline in the army, such as hanging up by the thumbs and the carrying of knapsacks loaded with wet sand, had a valuable influence in restraining disorder which my fellow-teachers found quite troublesome. In the work of instructing the class in the main doctrines of Christianity, I found my experience in the preaching to the regiment repeated. The more I attempted to make clear to my pupils, I will not say Calvinistic but even Trinitarian belief, the more it became evident that the doctrinal conclusions, so to speak, ran away from me. I could not honestly teach, and in fact I

could not effectively teach, what I did not myself hold, and, therefore, I did not continue the class beyond the winter months for which I had promised service.

I experimented somewhat with the leading preachers who at that time occupied pulpits in the city. I remember being attracted by Dr. Washburn, of Calvary, a scholarly and fair-minded representative of what in England is classed as the Broad Church. I listened occasionally to Dr. Osgood, who belonged to the conservative group of Unitarians, and who a year or two later followed the example of Dr. Huntington, a much abler and more philosophic man, in going over to the Episcopal fold. I gathered the impression later that Osgood was disappointed at his reception in the Episcopal Church. There came to him neither bishopric nor any other distinction such as had been given to Huntington. He was intellectually a timid man, not sure of his own position and incapable, therefore, of bringing forcibly to bear upon others convictions which were not quite clear to himself.

For some time I took part with the congregation of Dr. Bellows, an old friend of my father, and a citizen who had rendered distinctive service to the country as President of the Sanitary Commission and in many other ways. Dr. Bellows was pastor of the First Unitarian Society, where he had been preceded by a series of scholarly divines. His sermons interested me, but I never came into very close or sympathetic relations with the man. He was clear-headed and wide-minded, and had a sense of humour which nearly always goes with clearness and insight. I should hardly think of him as spiritually-minded, although he did emphasize for his hearers (a group which included some of the most intelligent people in New York) the value of what he called the spiritual as opposed to the material side of life. With Bellows, however, the term "spiritual" stood rather for the influence of intellect

or for reason than for what in my earlier Calvinistic training I had understood by the term.

I finally found the most satisfactory use for my Sunday mornings in attending service in the hall where Octavius B. Frothingham, who had recently come from Boston, directed the ministrations of what was at the outset called the Third Unitarian Society. Mr. Frothingham's father, Nathaniel Frothingham, had been a near friend and close intellectual associate of Dr. Channing, and he was at the time of his death, a few years later, one of the best representatives in Boston or in the country of Channing Unitarianism. The son Octavius, at this time a man of forty, found himself, as he went on with his preaching, diverging from the platform of Channing and of his father. The first sermons preached by him in New York brought question to the minds of Dr. Bellows, Dr. Osgood, and others of the more conservative Unitarians in and about New York in regard to the orthodoxy of the preacher of the Third Congregation. As this criticism took shape, Frothingham and the friends who had accepted with him the responsibility for the management of the congregation, decided that they would not ask for Unitarian fellowship. Such fellowship seemed likely to involve some sacrifice of independence of utterance on the part of their pastor. Frothingham was, I think, both troubled and relieved at the conclusion. He was a man of keen sympathies and it troubled him to be thrown out of brotherly relations with men who were friends and associates of his father, and from whom he had expected to receive a cordial welcome. On the other hand, it was certainly a satisfaction to be able to shape his own thinking, teaching, and preaching without reference to possible criticism on the part of other teachers, who were also older preachers in the community. The matter of "orthodoxy" must always have presented special difficulties to Unitarians. In the Episcopal Church

"orthodoxy" could be checked in some fashion by the creeds, by the articles, and by the actions of the diocesan convention, or by the utterances of the bishops. Orthodoxy for a Calvinistic congregation could be referred back to the tenets of Calvin as expressed in the greater or the lesser Westminster Catechism. But orthodoxy among the Unitarians was to be determined rather as is the soundness of a legal decision that depends not upon statute but upon common law. It could be referred back only to the utterance of one or more preceding teachers who had been accepted as authorities, and from decade to decade there arose increasing difference of opinion among those calling themselves Unitarians as to who were the authorities and as to which utterance was to be accepted as authoritative. Frothingham found himself in New York occupying a position somewhat similar to that held by Theodore Parker, the pastor of the famous Twenty-eighth Congregational Society in Boston.[1] If accepted by no authority, he and his congregation had at least the satisfaction of being responsible to no authority but that of their own consciences and of the Divine Power. Frothingham did not possess the exceptional vital force that characterized the utterances of Parker; but he had a much larger bump of reverence and a clearer sense of the continuity of human thought and of human belief. The thing which had been or the conclusion heretofore accepted, it might now be necessary to put to one side, but it was entitled to full respect for the service rendered to earlier generations for which indeed it had probably been the right thing. Parker was more inclined to describe as pernicious from the beginning doctrines and creeds that he was putting to one side, and which were in his judgment of no avail and of

[1] It was Parker whom Lowell described (in the *Fable for Critics*) as,

"He was so ultra-Cinian,
He shocked the Socinians."

little importance for the men to whom he was talking. Frothingham, with a fuller measure of scholarly attainments and a more accurate knowledge of the history of human thought, looked at faith as an evolution, a development among the different divisions of mankind, that was being shaped from century to century, with more or less consistency and effectiveness, to meet the needs and ideals of successive generations.

Frothingham insisted upon the substantial truth of the statement which in its original utterance was probably given simply as a witticism.

> Man makes God in his own image. Man shapes his faith, that is to say the expression of his relation to the supernal, of the power of which he is more or less conscious, according to his own powers of analysis or of reasoning.

Frothingham related to me an incident that his father had told him in regard to the beginning of the Channingite movement against the Calvinistic control of the Congregational churches. In response to an appeal issued by Mr. Channing, the ministers of the Congregational churches of Boston and the adjacent territory who were in sympathy with Channing's protest against the Calvinistic creed, had come together in Channing's church in Boston to formulate a platform. The hour came for the meeting, but Channing, the leader, had not appeared. Nathaniel Frothingham, as his neighbour and nearest friend, was sent to Channing's house to ascertain the difficulty. He found the divine wrapped up in flannels and with his feet in a tub of hot water. "Ah! Brother Frothingham," said Channing, "I am sadly disappointed to be a delinquent, but our friends will have to get on without me. I am disabled with an attack of neuralgia. This bitter east wind has been too much for me." "East wind!" replied Frothingham, "why the wind is from the south-west and

the air is balmy and warm." Channing looked out sadly through his window to a neighbouring vane which surely enough, as pointed, marked the wind from the east. "Oh, Brother Channing," said Frothingham, "that vane is untrustworthy; it is on a Baptist Chapel and it has in some way become fixed." The instant Channing learned that the wind was not from the east, his neuralgia disappeared. He threw off his flannels, got into his boots, and hurrying down to the church on the arm of his friend, he opened the meeting with an address that became famous in the history of the intellectual life and of the theological development of New England and of the country.

Frothingham was a scholar and a man of refined intellectuality. The radicalism of half-educated or "half-baked" people who doubted without knowing and who thought themselves liberal because they were able to indulge in cheap sneers at things reverenced by thoughtful people, was to him not only unsympathetic, but repellent. He had the utmost sympathy with the real convictions of other people, however much he found it impossible to accept these convictions as his own. He preached, however, from the starting point that things must be proven and made clear for the beliefs of each generation of men. Traditionary convictions seemed to him to be no convictions at all. He insisted that each thoughtful and conscientious man must work out his own relations to the universe. His instruction was "to try all things" and to hold fast to that which each man, working honestly with such faculties as had been given to him by the Creator, found to be good.

Mr. Frothingham was still in middle life when he was told by his medical adviser that he must be freed from the strain of the responsibilities of a preacher. The congregation gave him first leave of absence for a year, and when at

the close of the year the physician's verdict was confirmed, they decided that there was no man in the United States who could fill his place on their platform, and that it would be wiser to dissolve. The trustees were instructed to utilize the funds that had been accumulated for the society (an amount of about fifty thousand dollars) in such manner as might be most nearly in line with the purpose for which the subscriptions had been secured. The money was distributed by us among several "missionary" or Unitarian congregations in the far West. I recall the difficulty that the trustees experienced in securing a dissolution. We found that while it was comparatively easy to incorporate a "body" for religious purposes, the State was very conservative in permitting such a body to close its corporate existence. It took five years before we were able to get through the Legislature a bill permitting us to bring to a legal close the life of the congregation whose actual operations had ceased years back.

At the time of Mr. Frothingham's death, sixteen years later, a memorial meeting was held in New York at the instance of Dr. Felix Adler, whose congregation gave for the purpose the use of Carnegie Hall. The life and the work of Octavius Frothingham were commemorated in addresses given by certain of his closer associates, Edmund C. Stedman, George C. Barrett, Felix Adler, and myself.

Some of the more active-minded members of Mr. Frothingham's congregation organized a society more or less literary in its purpose and character called *The Fraternity*, which carried on operations with fortnightly meetings for a term of seven years. According to the usual routine, two or three editors were made responsible for the proceedings of each meeting, and under their direction a paper was prepared, the name of which varied from fortnight to fortnight. In this journal was presented to the society material very varied in character. Sometimes

the main essay would be the work of a scholarly writer, and would, with gravity of purpose, present a subject that was entitled to careful consideration; while at others, according to the temperament of the editors, the journal would be made up of humorous, not to say hilarious, contributions which had no other purpose than amusement. But grave or gay, the papers and the discussions that usually followed their reading were always characterized by thought, and often by eloquence and humour. Mr. Frothingham took his share in responsibilities as editor, contributor, and speaker, but we were all, as far as practicable, put on the same plane, and the youngsters were encouraged to speak out such minds as they found they possessed.

The society was on the whole not only a pleasure but a training for its members. When its operations were finally brought to a close, seven volumes containing the Proceedings were properly bound in full morocco, and the outgoing President, James Herbert Morse, was instructed to retain them through his life and to make arrangements for their final disposition in the Astor Library, always provided that the Astor would accept the charge.

New York in the Late Sixties. New York in 1866 showed many changes, social, political, and business, from the conditions of the quiet and more provincial city that I had known before the war. Notwithstanding the enormous losses to the resources of the country that had been caused by the waste of war during four years, the ruin of the Southern planters and of their business representatives in the North, and the undermining of many of their lines of business interests, the war had brought to certain groups of men larger resources than had ever before been known in the country. There was a great increase in ostentation of life in the city, and there came into existence a division of society that could be called plutocratic.

Mr. Bryant, who was at the time and who remained until his death the President of the Century Club, was the recognized head of the literary group. New York was at that time beginning to attract to itself the literary abilities from the older circles in New England, while an increasing number of capable younger writers from the West came to the city as journalists, or hoping to make a place for themselves with the magazines or in the publishing offices.

In the late '60's, New York had not yet outgrown certain of its old-fashioned or so-called provincial habits. One of the customs that had been retained was that of making New Year's calls, a practice that had been inherited in New York from the Dutch founders of the city. Long before the beginning of the twentieth century, the growth of the metropolis had made impossible this pleasant and convenient habit of coming into touch (at least once a year) with a circle of family friends, but in 1866, the ladies still stayed at home on New Year's Day, and old men and youngsters did what they could in the hours between eleven in the morning and midnight to check off with calls of from five to fifteen minutes their own visiting list with that of their wives, their sisters, or their mothers. In my own diary for the first of January, 1866, I find the entry, "made thirty-five calls." I remember on that day coming back in the middle of the afternoon for a word with my mother and finding in her parlour old Mr. Bryant. It was sleeting violently outside, and the luxurious young men of the day were going about in *coupés*. It was the practice in order to save expense for two or three men to join in the expense of a carriage for the day. Mr. Bryant, however, had trudged through the sleet, and in response to some word from my mother of appreciation of his effort in coming out in such weather, replied cheerily: "Why, I rather like a fresh temperature, Mrs. Putnam. It is only the young men who are chilly and lazy."

Fifteen or eighteen years later, New Year's calls had become a tradition of the past. In connection with the difficulty of getting over the territory, the visits had degenerated into a mere hasty greeting and farewell, and finally, before the practice was abandoned altogether, one's social obligation was considered as having been fulfilled when a card had been placed in a basket left outside the door for the purpose.

In 1867, I had the opportunity of hearing Dickens give in New York readings from *David Copperfield* and from some other of the novels. I retained the impression of a great elasticity and variety of facial expression and of utterance which together brought to the audience a most vivid realization and real impersonation of each character. I have further in my mind the picture of a purple velvet waistcoat, with a mass of heavy watch chain extended across both sides. The satisfactory returns secured by Dickens during this later sojourn in America from his lectures and from the sales of revised and authorized editions of his books caused him to modify very materially the impressions of the earlier visits which had found record in *Martin Chuzzlewit* and *American Notes*. At banquets in Boston and in New York, Dickens made such graceful acknowledgment of his earlier exaggerations and erroneous statements and such charming appreciation of present hospitality that he secured a full measure of forgiveness for the bitter strictures of 1862.

In beginning work in New York in 1865, I took up my quarters in a boarding house kept by Ann Swift on the corner of Tenth Street and Fourth Avenue. The house was modest in its equipment, but also in its charges, and it presented the attraction of an interesting group of fellow-boarders. Miss Swift was a woman of education and intellectual interests, and she succeeded during the years of her work as boarding-house manager in attracting to her

circle of clients a number of noteworthy people most of whom became her personal friends.

The good lady presided at her table rather as a hostess than as a landlady. She was an old-time anti-slavery worker and a staunch Republican, and her authority for opinion and for political action was Horace Greeley's *Tribune.* Greeley himself was a caller at the house from time to time. The boarder who was in a hurry for his coffee might occasionally be critical when the good lady would stop, coffee-pot in hand, to emphasize the wisdom of some point made in Greeley's morning leader. Whatever might be the immediate question of the day, Ann Swift always had an emphatic opinion, while it is fair to say that she could give consideration to the opposing opinion of the other fellow.

Among my fellow boarders, I may recall the following: Bayard Taylor and his wife; Taylor was at that time the literary editor of *The Tribune* and was also putting through the press one or more books a year; Richard Henry Stoddard and Mrs. Stoddard, close friends of the Taylors; Stoddard was doing literary work for several journals, and later had charge, as librarian, of a rusty and rather futile collection of books called the New York City Library; Mrs. Stoddard was producing novels which were recognized by the élite as clever, but which failed to secure any popular acceptance; T. B. Aldrich was beginning his career as a literary worker with rather precarious newspaper connections; Oliver Johnson belonged to half a generation earlier than that of his associates in the house; he had been an active worker in the early anti-slavery days, and was at this time an editorial writer on *The Independent.* James Morgan Hart had been my room-mate for a time at Göttingen. He was at this time dallying with the law, but decided a little later that he could employ his abilities to better advantage in scholarship. He devoted

himself to philology and comparative literature, and after a professorial experience in Cincinnati, he accepted a chair in Cornell, where he is at this time, 1914, Professor Emeritus. There was also a clever mathematician named Oliver who was earning his bread by making calculations for the *Mathematical Almanac* that left him time for researches in the realms of higher mathematics, a realm of which we outsiders, as he reminded us from time to time, could know nothing. It was in the Swift boarding house that Bayard Taylor and his friends carried on for a time the proceedings of the Echo Club. The men and women (the group included Mrs. Stoddard and later Mrs. Aldrich) who came together in this very informal association amused themselves, under Taylor's direction, in writing poems which were planned as echoes of the poets of the generation. The writer secured his text by chance from a slip drawn from a hat. Taylor later elaborated the idea and brought together in a volume entitled *The Echo Club* his own series of Echoes, many of which are very characteristic.

I remember also in the house an old Irishman named Maturin who was never tired of emphasizing the glories of Dublin beside which brilliant city he considered New York to be a bumptious village. From time to time, he would announce, with hand eloquently raised in air, that he would rather be kicked down Sackville Street than walk down Broadway. The question naturally came to our minds, although as a matter of courtesy we refrained from thinking it out loud, "Why then are you a resident of New York?" He was not the only European who, having abandoned his country on account of the better opportunities afforded in the great Republic, continued to cast a halo of romance over the conditions that he had left behind him, even though he had found those conditions insupportable.

I find from an entry in my diary that as late as February, 1866, my regiment had still been retained in Georgia. When my resignation was accepted in July, it was the understanding that the troops were to be relieved as soon as the Georgians had reorganized their State and municipal governments and had secured some authority for the maintenance of peace and order. My fellow-officers were writing asking me to bring influence to bear to have the regiments recalled as the men were anxious to get home and to take up again their work as citizens. It was July, 1866, however, before the troops were finally released. In May, I find a reference to pressure brought to bear by members of the regiment, which had finally reached New York, for help in securing positions where they could receive comfortable salaries without too much work. It was, unfortunately, the case that army service, and particularly service in time of peace, had a demoralizing influence on the capacity and the desire for concentrated work. I was not a man of influence in New York, but I was able to find channels of employment for a few of the best of the old comrades.

I find in the brief diary in which I recorded only the very important events, an entry on the day of July 7, 1869, a quotation from Burnand: "Happy thought! Married!" The entry goes on: "This is a record of facts and dates only, and not of opinions, sentiments, or feelings, so that I have no occasion to devote any large number of words to a description of my change of state." The wife was the fair-haired, sunny-faced, sweet-natured Rebecca Shepard, who had joined my sisters in the farewell to the young sergeant when he sailed for New Orleans in 1862; and whose loyal companionship it was my privilege to enjoy for twenty-five years.

In 1870, my father and I arranged to share an apartment in the building 142 East 18th Street, which had

been designed by Richard M. Hunt, and which was, I believe, the first of the long series of New York apartment houses. In visiting this building before its completion, my father met with an accident that brought him near to death. A descending mortar crate, which had gotten out of control, knocked him over and fell in part upon him. The shock was serious and its effects were felt by him up to the time of his death, two years later.

CHAPTER II

Kindred and Others

My Sister the Doctor. In 1871, my sister Mary returned from Paris, after completing in the Medical School of the University a six-years' course, and securing with honours her University degree. She had had serious obstacles to overcome in obtaining admission to the École de Médecine, in which, until her application, there had been no women students. She succeeded through her own matriculation and graduation in establishing a precedent that has since been maintained for the admission of women to the school. Her six-years' sojourn had included the exciting experiences of the siege of Paris by the Germans in the winter of 1870–71 and the subsequent rule of the city by the Commune, but Mary did not permit little things like wars and revolutions to interfere with any work that she had laid out for herself, and she pursued her studies quietly through the months of turmoil and had her thesis in readiness on the day when the doors of the University were again opened for business.

Shortly after her return to New York, she married Dr. Abraham Jacobi, a physician of German birth who had come to this city with a group of the Forty-Eighters, and who had won for himself an honourable place in his profession. He had been associated

in the Revolutionary movement in Baden with Carl Schurz, and the two men, while very different in temperament and in method, had remained close friends, a friendship of which my sister naturally secured the advantage.

Her marriage was not permitted to interfere with her professional work, in which she speedily won for herself a distinctive reputation. She rendered a noteworthy service to her sex and to the profession in reorganizing the Medical College for Women and in making it possible for women students to secure an adequate medical training.

It was through my sister, and Dr. Jacobi, who concontinued in close fellowship with his revolutionary comrade, that I was myself brought into personal relations with Schurz and secured the advantage of a friendship which strengthened through the succeeding years until his death in 1907. Schurz was a man of distinctive character and with a curiously wide range of interests and of abilities. At the time of the outbreak of 1848, he was eighteen years old and was a student at Bonn. I remember his report to me that on hearing shouted from the street the news of the organization of the revolutionary committee in Frankfort, he ran down from his attic and joined himself at once to a company of students which was moving to the front under the leadership of their much loved professor, Kinkel. "I never had an opportunity," said Schurz, "of returning to my attic, and I left there two tragedies that would, I was confident, have delighted the world and would doubtless have made my reputation as a dramatist. The revolution, or possibly the failure of the revolution," continued Schurz, "brought great misfortunes upon Germany, but I have always classed among the serious misfortunes of the time, the loss of those tragedies."

Paul Morphy. I had from boyhood been interested in the game of chess considered both as a diversion and as a more or less scientific study; and I had read with interest of the brilliant contests carried on in New York and in other cities of the States and on the other side of the Atlantic by the young lawyer from New Orleans. When Morphy first met in New York the chess leaders of the country, he was but twenty-six years of age. His experience in chess could have covered but a brief period; but he showed a wonderful insight, a power of analysis, and a genius for combination that gave him the victory over the strongest of the veterans. I did not have an opportunity at that time of seeing Morphy, but in playing out some of the games from the newspaper reports, I felt as if I had secured a personal impression of his methods.

In January, 1863, I found myself in New Orleans as a member of Banks's invading force. The city had been denuded of its younger men who had gone to the front with the crack regiments of the State. One saw in the streets only old men, women, and coloured folks. In enquiring in regard to one handsome young fellow who was passing, I was told that it was Paul Morphy, lawyer and heretofore chess player. I was told further that he had given up his chess and was not making a success at the Bar. It appeared that he had not been able to convince himself that the cause of the Confederacy was well founded or that Louisiana had a right to secede. He had, therefore, not gone to the front with the men of his own age and social standing. On the other hand, he had no intention of taking up arms against his State. He remained, therefore, between the two great war parties, sympathizing with neither and exposed to the loneliness that must always come to the "in-between" man. He ought under the circumstances to have carried himself off to Paris or elsewhere. Remaining in his home city, he was exposed to

the criticisms and gibes of the older men whose sons had gone to the front and of the girls of society who had no patience with a Louisianian who would not fight for the pelican flag. I learned later that, partly doubtless as a result of this loneliness and social persecution, and partly perhaps as a result of the pressure brought upon his brain by chess playing to the nth power, Morphy fell into melancholia. He died before the close of the war of what was called softening of the brain.

The history of chess shows that very few of the leaders have possessed general capacity, or capacity for anything but chess. I am inclined to the opinion that the capacity for playing chess is not due to intellectual power. It seems as if the chess capacity were a special faculty of its own; it has certainly very rarely been connected with a great or even a large intellect. The fact that during the past two centuries so large a proportion of the chess championships have been held by Hebrews is to be borne in mind in connection with the quite general accusation that the Hebrews are interested only in what will secure money or social power. Chess players can, even with the fullest measure of success, secure but a meagre return for their time and for a serious expenditure of vitality, and those who are not winners have nothing to show for their labours.

The Peabody Sisters. I had, as a youngster, come to know three sisters who were first cousins of my father, Elizabeth, Mary, and Sophia Peabody. Mary became the wife of the well-known educator Horace Mann, while Sophia married Nathaniel Hawthorne. The eldest sister, Elizabeth, devoted the energies of her long life to the service of her fellow-men (and women). She was a born altruist, and her energies were always absorbed in the furtherance of "causes." She had an intensity of feeling in regard to the necessity for securing an immediate

remedy for anything that had impressed itself upon her as a wrong; and she found it difficult to understand how other people, more selfish than herself, or with a larger measure of personal responsibilities calling for their attention, could be apathetic or could fail to respond to her earnest applications for help with time and with money. Elizabeth's judgment was often at fault, but her integrity of purpose, her absolute unselfishness, her readiness for sacrifice of time and money (of which she had never had but the smallest amount) made her a distinctive personality. I can but think of her as a saint, although it must be admitted that she was sometimes rather a frowsy-looking saint. In her devotion to the causes of others, she was apt to be forgetful of care for herself, even to the attention necessary for ordinary neatness of dress.

At the time of my marriage, in 1869, Elizabeth and her sister Mary Mann (at that time a widow) occupied a little cottage in Cambridge. Their limited income made it difficult for them to extend a full measure of hospitality to the representatives of the various causes for which they were working. The little back garden, in which they had placed a couple of tents, was, however, at the service of successive groups of refugees. During the time of the "underground railroads," these tents were often occupied by negroes on their way to Canada. After the close of the war, the guests included, at different times, Poles, Hungarians, and South Americans. The sisters provided the lodging, while it was understood that the refugees would find their own board; but if they were absolutely destitute, they would receive a share of the modest meal of Boston beans or prunes and rice. I remember calling upon the sisters in Follen Street shortly after my marriage. Cousin Elizabeth received me with exceptional cordiality. "Haven," she said, "you are

just the man I wanted to see. There is work waiting for you in South America. I have some gentlemen now in the back garden who will tell you about it." The refugees at the moment on hand were representatives of a party that had a revolution in train—I think it was in Paraguay. They were in the States trying to collect money, and they wanted to take back with them, to help steer the government that they were expecting to establish, one or more American citizens. My cousin Elizabeth had decided that, youngster as I was, I could be made of service as minister of education, and she thought that it was a great opportunity for myself and my young wife to make a career. I demurred on several grounds. I was not enthusiastic about Paraguay as a place of residence; I questioned my own equipment for the post of minister of education; and I was very doubtful about the success of the revolution that was in train. I did have an interview with the refugees, who in broken but eloquent English tried to make clear to me the magnificence of the opening that was being offered, but the suggestion was put to one side. I learned later, with some surprise, that this particular revolution had been a success, and that if I had gone to South America with my cousin's guests, I might have been minister of education for at least six months. This was at the time the average duration of the governments of Paraguay.

Elizabeth tried the experiment at one time, in company with her sister Mary, of keeping a bookshop in Boston. Partly from lack of capital and business experience, and partly because she devoted too much of her own time and of her counter space to the care of "missionary" pamphlets and other unremunerative publications having to do with her various causes, the shop did not prove successful, and it had to be given up. She always felt, however, that the year or two with which she had been connected

with trading operations, modest as these had been, must have secured for her a business experience, and she prided herself upon her business acumen.

I remember her telling me that she had succeeded at one time in securing from a Boston merchant a promise of a bequest of ten thousand dollars for one of her causes. It was at a time when the work of the life insurance companies was becoming extended and the calculations of the actuaries as to expectation of life were being talked over outside as well as within insurance circles. The cause in question had urgent need of immediate funds, and it occurred to Elizabeth that the bequest which was to come from the merchant in question after his death might be cashed in for its present value. She arrived at some calculation as to the merchant's expectation of life, and then called upon him and presented the figures showing what under her calculation was the present value of the proposed bequest. She assumed that the merchant would be prepared without delay to give a check for the amount. She was very much surprised at his lack of enthusiasm for the suggestion. He happened to be one of the men for whom the working out of the expectation of life was repelling. He seemed to consider the calculation and the suggestions behind it an impertinence, and, very much to Elizabeth's disappointment, he withdrew the promise of a bequest.

Elizabeth Peabody had interested herself in the fight against slavery, in the independence of Poland, in the revolution in Hungary, in the contest for equal suffrage, in the attempt to secure total-abstinence laws, in prison reform, in higher education for women, in liberalism in religion, etc. She lived to be over eighty years of age, and from the time of her childhood her years had all been active. A number of the causes in which she had been interested did show progress in her lifetime, but irrespec-

tive of the success of the cause, she found happiness in the fighting.

David A. Wells. In 1854, a young man brought a letter of introduction from Norwich, Connecticut, to my father in New York with the word that he had a little capital and that he would like to enter the publishing business. His name was David A. Wells. He was a graduate of Yale and had given some study to economics. He had convinced himself, principally on the ground of his experiences with the manufacturing centres of New England, that the prosperity of the country was based upon the protective system. He had given attention not only to economics, but to social science and to physics. My father was impressed with the industry and ambition of the young New Englander, and made him a member of the publishing staff, but he declined to accept him as a general partner on the ground that the young man had better make a test for a year or two before deciding to accept publishing as a career. Two years later, Wells decided that he was not well fitted for a business man and that he preferred to devote himself to scientific and economic research. He became, as later history shows, one of the leading economists of the country. As he progressed with his studies in the history of economic science and came to a fuller knowledge of the experience of other nations, he found that his protectionist theories were no longer tenable. The protectionist Congressmen of the day were apt to refer with a sneer to the "academic theories" of students of economic history, but in the case of Wells, his historical studies were connected with, and in fact based upon, a personal and intelligent observation of the work of American manufacturers, and of the conditions and the interests of the American market.

Wells became, and remained until his death, a sturdy believer in the wisdom and advantage from every point of

view of the freest possible system of commercial exchanges. He took the ground that the functions of government ought to be restricted to the preservation of order and of peace within its territory, the enforcement of justice among its citizens and residents, and the maintenance of dignified and equitable relations with other powers. He held that while the influence of government could occasionally be utilized to advantage for the furthering of some particular industry of special importance to the community, a system or practice of government interference with business must certainly produce, as in past years it certainly had produced, serious disadvantages in furthering speculative conditions in business which had come to depend upon the support of the government, and in favouring certain industrial groups in the community at the expense of other groups and of consumers as a whole. It seemed to Wells that no gain to be credited to the establishment or the maintenance of business, however desirable in itself, could be sufficient to offset the demoralizing influence upon great divisions of industry on the one hand and upon legislators on the other, through making business dependent upon the results of elections and the personal favour of the members of majorities in Congress.

I had the privilege as a youngster of making my first economic studies under the direction of Wells, and I believe now, as he had taught me to believe fifty-five years ago, that the principles and convictions then impressed upon me are those which must in the future come to be accepted as the foundation of a wise and equitable industrial system for the United States and for the civilized world.

It is in fact clearer today than it was in 1856 that the breaking down of tariff barriers between nations and the throwing open of the markets of the world to the pro-

ducers who through natural advantages developed by individual skill are the best fitted to supply those markets, would remove the most serious causes of friction, irritation, and antagonism between nations, and would enormously decrease the possibilities of war.

Wells rendered noteworthy service during the Civil War as Special Commissioner of the Treasury. His opinion was given in 1862 against the system, which was carried into effect under the leadership of Secretary Chase, of a legal-tender currency. It was the judgment of Wells that the war would have been conducted more economically if the funds required beyond what could wisely be secured from direct taxation had been obtained through loans. The bonded debt at the close of the war would, of course, have been very much greater, but the enormous loss, direct and indirect, caused by the issue of millions of dollars of irredeemable currency would have been avoided. The later financial historians have confirmed the judgment of Wells.

Some years after the war—I think about 1873—Wells prepared, at the request of the New York State Administration, a report upon taxation, which forty odd years later is still referred to as authoritative. The contention chiefly emphasized in this report was that no State should undertake to place a tax upon anything that could get away, or could be concealed. It was the first interest of each State not only to retain within its borders the various industrial undertakings already in existence and all the capital employed in these, but to induce the securing of further capital and of further enterprising investors. The placing of taxes upon personalty had, as Wells pointed out, the disadvantage that personal property could and would be removed, or could and would be concealed. Such a tax was paid only by the widows and orphans whose estates came into record, and by a small group of

conscientious citizens. The larger holders of personal property were always able so to shape their investments as to escape a great proportion at least of the personalty tax. Wells insisted that a tax on real estate, improved and unimproved, came, in the natural course of the work of the community, to be distributed among the citizens in equitable proportion, that is to say, according to the use made by the citizens of such real estate, and according to their ability to pay. The landlord included such tax in the cost of the maintenance of his building, and whether this building were utilized for business or for residence, the tax added to the rent was paid by each tenant according to his ability. In the case of business occupation, the tax came to be a part of the cost of selling goods, and in some proportion at least could be added to the price of the goods sold.

In regard to one division of his contention, Wells came into controversy with Henry George. George agreed with Wells as to the injustice and inexpediency of a tax on personal property. He maintained, however, that the tax on real estate should be limited to the land, and that the building—the so-called improvement of the land—should be exempted. It was George's idea that through such a division of the tax, the so-called "improvement" of the land would be hastened, and that the practice of holding unimproved land for the purpose of securing what George (and others back of George) called the "unearned increment," due not to any exertions of the owner, but to the growth of the community, would be rendered unprofitable. George was prepared, if necessary, to have the tax on the land so high that the owner would find it more profitable to turn the land over to the government (of city or of state) than to continue to hold the title, and many of George's followers held that such a result would be in itself desirable. Wells opposed these theories

vigorously, and insisted that the distribution of the burden of taxation throughout the community could not be carried on effectively, that is to say equitably, if the buildings in use for the community were exempt.

It was my privilege more than once to be a guest of Mr. Wells in his pleasant old colonial home at Norwich, Connecticut. I recall sitting with him in his library (he had one of the most complete collections of economic books and pamphlets that has been brought together in this country) as the morning mail came in, and I remember the little groan of my host as he opened two letters, one from a well-known member of the House of Representatives, and the other from a leading Senator. "These men," said Wells, "expect me to write their speeches for them." It was a serious burden for a man whose eyesight was limited and who had never afforded himself the luxury of an amanuensis. I heard then, as I learned more fully later, that members of Congress who were interested in economic subjects made a practice of applying to Wells not only for information, but actually for the text of their speeches. Wells was never himself a member of Congress. He made the attempt on one occasion, but the protectionist sentiment of his Norwich district was too strong for him. His neighbours had a cordial affection for the man, but they could not rid themselves of the conviction that his influence in Washington would be inimical to the manufacturing interests of Connecticut. But without the knowledge of these neighbours, or for that matter of the public, Wells was, through his correspondents in Washington, making speeches in both Houses of Congress from week to week. He undoubtedly had very much to do with educating and directing the legislative opinion that finally took shape in the economic policy of Cleveland's administration and in the Wilson bill. The Wilson bill was later replaced by the economic monstrosities of the McKinley

and of the Aldrich-Paine tariff, but the revenue reform measure of 1913, with its substantial reduction in the tariff burdens, and with a policy looking forward to a tariff for revenue only, may undoubtedly be credited in good part to the teachings and the continuing influence of David A. Wells.

The Free Trade League. It was in the early seventies, I think about 1874, that I became a member of the recently organized American Free Trade League. The League had been instituted to do what might be practicable to educate public and legislative opinion towards a reshaping of the tariff policy, with the view of applying duties for revenue only. It was the contention that every dollar, representing an increased cost to the consumer of articles in the tariff schedule, should find its way into the treasury, less only the actual expense of collection. The Free Trade League came into prompt correspondence with the Cobden Club, which had been instituted in England, in the late sixties, immediately after the death of Richard Cobden. The leaders in the League became honorary or corresponding members of the Cobden Club. Among the men who took active part in the correspondence and earlier work of the League were, in addition to Wells, Horace White, formerly of the Chicago *Tribune* and later connected with the *Evening Post* of New York, Anson Phelps Stokes, William Cullen Bryant (who served for some years as President), Isaac Sherman, a leading merchant of the Produce Exchange, and Edward H. Van Ingen. Among the men of the younger generation who came in were Richard R. Bowker and myself. We two were placed on the publication committee and a number of the monographs written at the instance of the League were published with the imprint of G. P. Putnam's Sons. Bowker and myself were both honoured, I believe on the nomination of David A. Wells, by having our names

included in the list of the American members of the Cobden Club. It is not possible for the members of the League to claim that their efforts produced any immediate effect on the national policy of the country, but it is in order to claim, writing nearly half a century after the organization of the League, that its influence and teachings are finally having their effect upon the opinions of voters throughout the country and upon national legislation.

With Bowker I have had continuing association during the past fifty years not only in free-trade work, but in civil-service reform, international copyright, independent politics, and other citizens' movements.

The Cobden Club in the United States. During one of the presidential campaigns, certain Republican papers discovered that the Cobden Club was "pouring British gold" into the United States, utilizing for the distribution of these iniquitous funds the service of the American members of the Cobden Club. The names of a number of these members were specified and the list included in addition to leaders like David A. Wells, some less well-known men like Mr. Van Ingen and myself. Van Ingen decided that this charge gave a good opportunity of testing the law of libel. He made demand upon one of the papers which had either originated or repeated these charges, for a bill of particulars. "Who has been receiving these supplies of British gold? How much was paid? What evidence have you of the payments? What action has been taken by these American representatives of the Cobden Club to influence the presidential or congressional election?" There was, of course, not the smallest shred of evidence. Whatever might have been the interest of the Cobden Club in regard to the defeat of the protectionist policy of the ruling Republican party, its managers were too wise to undertake to interfere in an American election. In the years in question, the Club

most assuredly had no funds in the treasury which would have been sufficient to affect any votes in the United States, even if the English managers or their American correspondents had been willing to use funds for such a purpose. The paper brought into the first suit was able to make no semblance of defence. With a verdict in his favour, Van Ingen was willing to accept for damages a mere nominal amount. He collected a similar amount from one or two hundred other Republican papers which had parrot-like repeated in that year (as they had been repeating for many preceding years) the charge that British gold was being used to influence American elections. Van Ingen's public-spirited energy brought these futile charges practically to an end, and we American members of the Cobden Club were permitted thereafter to express our convictions in regard to the absurdities of the American protective system without the necessity of meeting accusations that we were British hirelings.

Connected with the Free Trade League was organized a local association called the Free Trade Club, which held meetings once or twice a month. The Republican party, with its developing protective policy, was fairly entrenched in Washington and had the support of a substantial majority of votes in nearly all the Northern States. There was practically nothing to do but to keep up as large a measure of propaganda work as possible, and by the circulation of documents, reprints from Cobden Club pamphlets, lectures from the Free Trade professors (and the professors of economics were in very large proportion strong opponents of protection), to maintain a standard and to set an ideal for the future. It was our hope that as the youngsters came out of college from year to year, with the kind of knowledge of the history of economics that would be given to them by professors like W. G. Sumner of Yale, we should gradually secure

a larger hold on public opinion, and through the influence of leaders bring the mass of the voters to an understanding of their own business interests. We naturally pointed out in our documents the essential interest of the farmer in securing a reduction of the war tariff. His wheat and corn, cattle and bacon had to be sold in the markets of the world and at the world's prices, while nearly all the things that he was called upon to purchase, his clothing, his farm machinery, etc., were increased in cost through the protective tariff.

We recalled to the community that the tariff taxes had been imposed as a war necessity, and in connection with certain taxes on American manufactures, which were also the result of the war requirements. It was clearly the expectation of the men in Congress, who in '61 and '62 brought into shape the war tariff, that when the war expenditures had come to a close, and the heavy domestic taxes had been taken off, the tariff was, in like manner, to be reduced.

The groups which were securing benefit through the protection accorded by the government were, however, quite naturally, unwilling to relinquish the advantage they had secured. They were able also to point out that they had made under the protection of the law and the expectation of the continuance of the barrier against European competition, large investments in mills and in their plant, and that it would be inequitable to make any reductions in the tariff that would destroy the value of those investments. Expressions of opinion from specific groups can always be brought to bear, and at the time of tariff discussion always were brought to bear, very promptly upon Congress and President; while it was very much more difficult to make effective the influence of the consumers throughout the country whose interests were, as we contended, so entirely disregarded in the maintenance and the continued development of the high tariff policy.

CHAPTER III

Some London Publishers of the Sixties

Transatlantic Arrangements. In 1866, my father sent me to London to make acquaintance with his old-time correspondents in the book trade, and to come into relations with the younger men who had grown up since his departure from England. I was to report that, the war now being over, the American publishers who had had transatlantic interests were prepared to resume their business relations and expected again to utilize editions or supplies of English books. It was an old idea of my father's that it ought to be possible to secure a world-wide development for the protection and the distribution of books, irrespective of national boundaries. He had himself always been opposed to the imposition of any duties on books or on works of art. Whatever advantages there may be in a protective system and in the application under such system of duties on other productions, a policy which interfered in any way with the work of providing for the people at the lowest cost their supplies of good literature and of good art seemed to him not only a crime, but a blunder.

It was partly on this ground, and also, of course, for the sake of justice to authors on both sides of the Atlantic, that my father had from the beginning of his work as a publisher interested himself actively in the possibility

of bringing the United States into line with the states of Europe in the matter of international copyright. He was convinced that a world-wide recognition, irrespective of political boundaries, of the rights of the producers of literature would have the effect not of increasing but of lessening the cost to the readers of the books needed. He had in mind a world's market by means of which the author, securing some return from each reader who had been benefited by the author's work, should be able to make the charge for each reader comparatively moderate. The publishers being placed in a position to divide up among a number of editions the larger first charges for the production of a work (the payments to the author, the cost of illustrations and maps, and, in the case of countries with the same language, the cost of the typesetting), would be able to make a much lower selling price for the consumer than was practicable in the case of an edition the sale of which was restricted to a single market, and which had, therefore, to bear the entire "plant" charges —authorship, illustrations, typesetting, etc. Such a theory of international relations in literature, the purpose of which was to secure justice for the producer while furthering the business interest of the consumer, was in 1837, when my father organized the first American international copyright association, too far in advance of the development of public opinion and of the education of legislative opinion to produce any immediate results. My father was a man of hopeful disposition, and to the day of his death, he was always believing that "next year" it ought to prove practicable to secure favourable action from Congress. In this belief he persisted from year to year in maintaining some measure of activity on the part of the successive international copyright associations or committees, and he was from year to year sending to his old friends in London reports in regard to the efforts that

were being made on this side. It was the case not only in 1837, but in the later period, up to the enactment of the law of 1891, that the appropriation of American books in England had gone on just as freely as that of English books for the United States. The number of works which came into print in unauthorized American editions was larger simply because the mass of current English literature of each year was greater, and there were more things that the Americans wanted, but the English reprinters took all the books they wanted and practically all that there were in which English readers were likely to be interested. I think it probable in fact that in advance of the international copyright law, there was a better system on the part of publishers in the States, or at least of the leading houses, for payments to transatlantic authors than existed in Great Britain. It was the understanding on the part of the publishers of this group that when one house had introduced an English author to the American market, his undertakings with that book, or with later books by the same author, were not to be interfered with. Such an understanding enabled the American publisher to make payments to the English author. These remittances were called "courtesy payments," as the author was not in a position to assign for the so-called "authorized" edition in consideration of the money received any exclusive control, or to secure for such edition protection against the competition of unauthorized or piratical issues. These "courtesy payments" amounted sometimes to very considerable sums; but it is necessary to admit that the so-called "understanding" broke down occasionally, even with publishers of the first group, when the temptation for interference proved to be too considerable, or when publisher A found some general grievance against publisher B, which seemed to give a pretext for interference with B's undertakings. There grew up also out-

side of the circle that called themselves the leading or legitimate publishers, a group of "piracy" publishers, some of whom built up a profitable business. These men were able to utilize, with no cost to themselves, the enterprise and the literary judgment of the publishers who possessed direct transatlantic connections and who had knowledge and experience in the selection and in the handling of English literature. As soon as an English book issued in an "authorized edition" had made a success in the American market (and the chance of such success was at best but speculative and came up only with a portion of the books presented) the "pirate" would bring into the market a competing issue and as he had no payment to make for authorship, and his book manufacturing was usually done with a cheap standard of work, and he had the advantage of the advertising outlay incurred by the original publisher, he was able to undersell the authorized edition.

The probability (which in the case of any book of commercial importance could be called a certainty) of such piratical competition, and the occasional breakdown of the "courtesy" arrangement or understanding within the circle of the so-called "legitimate publishers," rendered the business of producing American editions of English books somewhat more of a lottery than is the case even with publishing generally. My father believed, however, in the possibility of doing business in the States with English books even under such unsatisfactory conditions, and he was always hopeful that in the near future those conditions were to be altered. He believed also that the publishers who, like himself, had always refused to issue American editions excepting under arrangements with the transatlantic authors, ought, when international copyright should be established, to be in a position to secure a decided business advantage over their less conscientious competitors.

Richard Bentley. I found that the London publishers of my father's generation belonged in large part to the group of Englishmen who had not been sympathetic with the cause of the North, and who had been quite ready to accept as an established fact the disruption of the American Republic. One of my notes of introduction was presented to Richard Bentley, "Publisher to the Queen," and in listening to the old gentleman's remarks about American conditions, I recalled a letter that he had written to my father in 1863. During the years of the war, it was quite customary for English correspondents to add either to business or to personal letters some word of counsel, or more frequently of remonstrance, in regard to the "wicked persistency of the North" in fighting to maintain the national existence. In a final paragraph in one of Bentley's letters of 1863, he had written:

> How long are you foolish men of the North going to continue this fratricidal strife? I understand that the resources of your country are rapidly disappearing; that its business has been undermined, and that grass is now growing in the streets of New York. England holds itself ready to render neighbourly service in adjusting the relations between the Northern States and the new nation of the South.

My father had, not unnaturally, replied with some little warmth to this proposal for English intervention, a proposal made on the assumption that the North was exhausted and that the contest must be practically at a close. He had mentioned the receipt during the same week of a letter from another correspondent of his, the second King of Siam, who showed intelligent knowledge of the conditions of the struggle and a sympathetic interest in its successful result. My father's word to Bentley referred to this letter coming from a "semi-barbarous monarch of the Antipodes" as showing a much

better understanding of American conditions than that possessed by his London correspondent. Bentley's letter and my father's reply were brought into print in the *Evening Post*, and my uncle, who was at that time fiscal agent in the United States for Siam, came to my father with considerable concern in regard to the description of his client as a "semi-barbarous monarch." "Why," said my uncle, "the King takes the *Evening Post* and he will not be at all satisfied with this description." Richard Bentley was a Tory gentleman of the good old school, who appeared to have drifted rather accidentally into the position of publisher. He gave me the impression of having no very keen interest in literary undertakings. He commiserated me upon the devastation of my country and said that he supposed another generation must pass before there could be a renewal of business in books. I reminded him that we had a rapidly growing and intelligent population in a number of the great States which had hardly felt the pressure of the war, and I reported that American publishers were expecting within the next few years to distribute satisfactory amounts of good literature. A few years later, through the invalidism of Richard Bentley, the business came into the hands of his son George. George impressed me as a man of better education and of wider general interests than his father, but I got the impression that he was not over-ambitious. I believe that he lacked physical strength. Some years later he decided to transfer the business to the Macmillans, and an imprint that had been honourably connected with English publishing for four generations was brought to a close.

George Smith. In the office in Cornhill of the historic house of Smith, Elder & Co., I received a cordial greeting from George Smith, who had known my father well in the earlier years. He took me later into his charming home

circle, where I heard pleasant gossip concerning some of the famous authors of the firm,—Charlotte Brontē, Thackeray, and others. My relations with Mr. Smith continued from year to year until his death. I remember a number of years later, long after the Cornhill offices had been transplanted to Waterloo Place, being his guest at a dinner given at Greenwich to the contributors of the *Dictionary of National Biography*. The Dictionary was at that time about half completed, and question had been raised in regard to the risk, in case the life of the publisher might not be sufficiently prolonged, of the work being left as a fragment. The contributors had in this question a business as well as a personal interest, as the majority of them were not writing isolated articles, but had accepted the responsibility for all the biographies relating to some specific divisions of English history. Leslie Stephen, at that time the editor, and Sidney Lee, his able associate, doubtless had at the time knowledge of the founder's plans. Mr. Smith took pains, however, in a modest speech of greetings to his guests to refer to this apprehension.

> Question has been raised [he said] as to what might be the fate of the Dictionary in case I may not myself live to see it brought to a conclusion. I want to make clear now for the information of my associates in the undertaking and of the British public which is pleased to consider the publication one of national importance, that in the event of my demise—may I say my lamented demise—arrangements have been made which will ensure the completion of the Dictionary.

I understand that Mr. Smith had put funds in trust which were to be applied to this purpose. Having decided to enter upon this great work, which, as we all understood, was undertaken not as a matter of business but with the hope of rendering service to the nation, he was not the

kind of man to risk leaving it half done or inadequately done. The *Dictionary of National Biography* constitutes one of the most public-spirited services ever rendered by a publisher, or for that matter by any citizen, to his country. It is a matter of regret that the great citizen who rendered this service to Britain and to the world did not receive from the government the recognition which would have pleased him, and to which we can but think he was rightfully entitled. He ought at the time of Queen Victoria's first jubilee, in 1887, or at the second jubilee in 1897, to have been made Baron Smith of Waterloo Place.

Henry George Bohn. Another of my notes of introduction was presented to Henry George Bohn, whose name is best known to readers of standard literature on both sides of the Atlantic in connection with Bohn's Libraries. These libraries, comprising series of reprints of works in all divisions of literature which ranked as classics, had been begun by Bohn about 1850. They had been shaped with good editorial judgment and had grown to be a great business property. In 1913, George Bell & Son, whose house had for many years been the owners of the Bohn Libraries, secured a satisfactory success for a reissue of the famous series in cheap popular form. The idea of such a series was said to have originated with David Bogue, but Bogue lacked either the capital or the persistency to carry out his scheme effectively, and his smaller groups of volumes were soon driven out of the market by the long sets of his rival Bohn. In his eagerness to extend his libraries and to include in his lists not merely the books of earlier generations that had stood the test of time, but later productions which would help to attract readers, Bohn had pushed forward his editorial scheme with very little regard to the interests or the comity rights of his fellow-publishers; and he soon

came into controversies in regard to his right to utilize some of these later books. One of the most important of these issues came up in connection with Bohn's reprints of the earlier works of Washington Irving, including the *Sketch Book*, *Columbus*, etc. Murray (John the second) and Bentley had paid Irving satisfactory, not to say liberal, prices for the right to produce the authorized English editions of these books, and it was their understanding that Irving, while an American citizen, had, under the conditions of the English statute, secured through residence in England, and through prior publication in England, a protection for these books. Suits were brought by Murray and Bentley, but Bohn made a stubborn defence through delays and appeals until the patience and the hopefulness of the authorized publishers was finally exhausted. A compromise was arrived at under which Bohn retained the right to continue to print the books in the libraries. The later decisions of the English courts made clear, however, that Murray's contention was well founded, and that if he had persisted with his case, the Bohn editions would have been suppressed or satisfactorily paid for.

At the time I met Bohn, he was an old man, and had practically retired from the publishing business. He lived in a house at Twickenham in the neighbourhood of Pope's villa and of Walpole's "Strawberry Hill." He had, after giving up active work in the publishing office, interested himself in collecting porcelain and pottery. His collections were at this time considerable enough to form quite a museum, and I believe they had very considerable value. I dined with the old gentleman in company with three or four other guests, and was interested in noting how bad the manners of an Englishman were allowed to be if he possessed money and some social importance. The host contradicted his guests (not, it is fair

to say, his American guest, who kept quiet and observant) and one or two of them were abused so abominably as the old gentleman took his third or fourth glass of port that I was surprised that they were willing to remain at the table. He was full of his own opinions and brooked no contradictions or questions. It is fair to remember in thinking of Bohn that he was hardly to be accepted as typical of an English gentleman, or even as an English commercial gentleman. He had been born in Germany, and while a well-read man, possessing some scholarly attainments, he had taken his training comparatively late in life.

John Murray. The dean of the English book trade in 1866 was unquestionably John Murray, John the third, son of Byron's Murray. He was a tall, courtly gentleman such as one describes as belonging to the "old school." He expressed an interest, although it seemed to me rather a far-off and formal interest, in the possibilities of reviving the American book-trade. Mr. Murray, like Richard Bentley, belonged to the Tory group of British opinion, and was one of those who had been surprised (if not disappointed) that the North had been able to bring the war to a satisfactory conclusion. In the matter of frank criticism of Northern procedure, he was, however, more considerate of the feelings of his American guest than had been his neighbour Bentley.

I was pleasantly received in the picturesque office in Albemarle Street by my father's old-time friend and correspondent. After the establishment in 1849 of his business in New York, my father had been interested in dividing with the Murray house a number of important publications, such as the works of Sir Henry Layard, the writings of George Borrow, etc. Sixty-eight years later, my firm is still continuing, in co-operation with the later generation of Murray, the publication of the works of George Borrow.

The general manager of the Murray house was at that time Mr. Cooke. Cooke had grown up with the house, and was, I was told, a very valuable man for the responsibilities entrusted to him. He was a Tory and not one of the courtly kind; his opinions and his prejudices struck me as belonging to an earlier century. He evidently found it difficult to divest himself of the feeling that Americans were Colonials, and that they ought not to speak until they were spoken to. There seemed to me to be a certain inconsequence in the manner in which in one breath he attributed certain outrages against negroes in Arkansas and Texas to the barbarism of my American community, and in the next expressed his honest regret that "the gentlemen of the South" had in their gallant struggle for liberty been overcome by "the mechanics of the North."

At this time of writing, the direction of the business of the house is in the hands of John the fourth, who is, however, fortunate in having already available for co-operation in the management of affairs, John the fifth.

George Bell. Another of the publishers of the old school with whom I came into personal relations was George Bell. I found him a man rather of the John Murray type, a gentleman in manner and method, with a high standard of business policy and of business action. A conservative in politics, he evidently had no personal sympathy with the principles represented by the re-established western Republic. While never forgetful of his courtesy to his guest, he was pretty sharp in his animadversions of American methods. He was inclined to the belief that the disappearance of the United States would have been no misfortune to the world. He was bitter, and not without ground, at the practice of the American reprinters who were appropriating English publications, and he was very incredulous when I pointed out that the

reprinters in England showed no more regard than their American competitors for the rights of transatlantic authors. Knowing that the record of his own firm was in this respect unassailable, he was unwilling to admit that any such misdoings could be charged against members of the publishing circle of England.

Sampson Low. Sampson Low, head of the firm of Low, Son & Marston, had had business relations with my father during the latter's sojourn in London and was very ready to accord a friendly reception to my father's son. I recall that it occurred to Mr. Low (and to him alone among the London publishers whom I met) that office accommodation might prove a convenience for the young Yankee during his sojourn in London, and a desk was given to me in one of the offices of the firm. It was a very simple courtesy, but it led to business of some continued importance. For a number of years thereafter, we utilized Low's house as a general agency for the purchase of miscellaneous stock, while we were interested also in giving early and favourable consideration to such of Low's publications as seemed likely to be suitable for the American market. Like most of the older publishers of London, Low belonged to the Tories, and I found him quite naïve in his expression of surprise, and I thought almost of disappointment, that the great Republic had succeeded in sustaining itself through the severe shock of the Civil War. There was also a pleasant little feeling of astonishment that any American, or at least any American from the North, should be found suited for English social circles and deserving of trust in business relations. Our firm secured in fact close business relations with London that involved a larger measure of confidence than was readily given to some of our American competitors, some of whom represented larger capital and whose custom might possibly have proved more profitable, and this

advantage came to us simply on the ground that my father had actually himself been for a term of years a resident of England. There was the beautiful belief that he must in this manner have secured a certain standard of civilization which would not be likely to be possessed by a born Yankee who had had no such advantages. By the time, some seven or eight years later, when I was called upon to take control of the firm, I had, through personal interviews and continued correspondence, established with leading publishers, with a number of the scholars of the universities, and with other literary workers, personal relations that were in the years to come to prove of increasing importance for the House.

Sidney Williams. Among the publishers whom I came to know during these earlier visits and with whom friendly relations continued until his death twenty years later, was Sidney Williams, head of the firm of Williams & Norgate. Mr. Williams was a man of my father's generation whose life had been spent in the book trade. His early training was secured in Leipsic and in Hamburg, and he had retained both in business and in personal associations close relations with Germany. Partly because of these German influences, but chiefly on the ground of his natural sturdiness and independence of character and of judgment, my friend's views of matters theological were characterized by what I should call a wholesome and reverent heresy. He had a full measure of respect for the Church of England as an institution, and he was always a liberal subscriber to the funds of his Parish Church (his home was at that time at Bickley in Kent), but he did not think it necessary to give personal attendance in the family pew which he retained as a proper obligation for a householder in the Parish. The publishing relations of Mr. Williams were naturally influenced by his independent views and his imprint came to be

associated with the books of a number of writers who, while giving thoughtful and reverent study to the problems of the relations of man with his universe, were not disposed to accept the traditional or so-called "orthodox" views. Mr. Williams was a man of wide reading and his opinions were always of interest. He combined intellectual force with sweetness of nature. I found him a charming host.

Among the authors of the Williams firm who became personal friends of its founder was Herbert Spencer. Spencer's first publication failed for some time to attract any general attention, and the author and his publishers had to wait for a number of years before the sales of the book proved to be sufficient to pay the printer's bills or to give evidence that the author's conclusions were securing any general acceptance. During the past forty years, the list of the publications of Williams & Norgate has included many works representing scientific research, and the results of investigations of thinking men who refused to permit their conclusions to be trammelled by traditionary beliefs. The firm has made itself a connecting link between the liberal scholarship of Germany and the thinking community of Great Britain.

My relations, both personal and business, begun in the early seventies with Sidney Williams, have continued through the years since with his son and successor Geoffrey.

Mr. W. On the ground of my lack of business experience, my father did not expect that in my first trip to England, I should assume responsibility concerning investments in any large undertakings. I was instructed, however, to make myself known in the several publishing offices, and to give due consideration to such suggestions as might be submitted in regard to books supposed to be suited for the American market. I was turning over one day in the office of Mr. W., one of my father's correspond-

ents, the proof sheets of a forthcoming work of current reference, and I was endeavouring, while concealing my general ignorance, to secure some impression as to the probable value of the work for American readers. I was fortunate enough to light upon an entry regarding an event in our Civil War of which I had personal knowledge. The writer of the paragraph had undertaken to describe the bombardment by the Yankee fleet of the Confederate post of Front Royal in Virginia. I had had occasion to march around and through Front Royal and I knew that the place was two or three hundred miles from tide water. I said, "Mr. W. there is a mistake in one entry in these sheets. Your contributor says that the American fleet carried on a bombardment of a place which is two hundred miles inland." "Oh, Mr. Putnam," said Mr. W. condescendingly, "this book has been prepared by English scholars of first authority. You have confused your memory in some manner."

I held to my judgment, however, and on the strength of the one detail that I had been able to check, I decided, not a little to Mr. W.'s annoyance, to decline his proposition to take over for the States a portion of the edition of the work. My judgment, however hastily arrived at, proved to have been well founded, for the book was never accepted as a work of authority. My father commended my method of testing, by one detail of which I had first-hand knowledge, material that I was not competent to judge.

I found it necessary to continue my father's routine of annual visits to London. The business of the London office naturally called for some personal supervision and checking off, while it was important for us on every ground, as we had been the first American publishers to invade England, to retain the prestige of the English connection and to widen the range of our business interests.

Re-establishment of London House.—A year or two

after my sojourn in London in 1866, we found it practicable to re-establish the branch House in London, and in this way to develop our direct relations with English authors and with the English book-buying public. One may admit that in 1870 (as is true forty odd years later), it was not easy to interest any large number of British readers in the productions of American authors. The English publishers took the ground that the books produced by English authors were quite sufficient to meet any possible demand on the part of the English reading public, and that there was no place and no necessity for an incursion of American books. The English reviewers were, and possibly still are, less ready to give favourable attention to literature originating on the western side of the Atlantic. American reviewers and readers have always been more willing to give a hospitable reception to the literature of Great Britain than it has been easy to secure in Britain for books emanating from the States. This is partly due, of course, to the tradition of earlier times when the Colonies, and later the States, were almost entirely dependent upon England for their literature, but it may also fairly be claimed that the American has from the outset been wider and more cosmopolitan in his range of interests and more ready to give consideration to thoughts, ideas, and teachings which come into shape outside of his home country.

During the past twenty years, there has, however, been a decided increase in the readiness of English readers to give attention to American literature. The best of the American novelists—together with some of those who are not properly to be described as "best,"—have found favour with English readers, and it is now recognized in university centres and among cultivated people that Americans are able to produce works of value and of authority in all the divisions of literature.

CHAPTER IV

G. P. Putnam's Sons

The Death of my Father. In December, 1872, came the sudden death of my father, which left upon myself and my younger brother the responsibility for the management of the publishing concern. My father was at the time but fifty-eight years of age, and he ought to have been spared for a longer term of service for his own home circle and for the community in which he had made for himself an honourable place. The nature of his service I have attempted to estimate in an earlier volume.

I could not but feel that my own experience had been too limited to qualify me properly for my new responsibilities. I had had no business training excepting what could be secured in the work of a regiment in active service and what had come to me during the six years since the war. My father had creative capacity and literary taste, and he had always been fortunate in his relations with his authors, nearly all of whom became his personal friends. He had no good knowledge, however, of the details of the commercial side of a publishing business, and it had been necessary for me in taking hold with him as a junior partner to instruct myself in order that I might be in a position to check off the work of subordinates and to free my father, as far as possible, from the details of office work.

From my earliest boyhood, my relations with my father

had been close. He was by nature keenly sympathetic, and I could always feel assured without spoken words that he understood what I had at heart and that he had made my hopes and aims his own. I know that during the six years of our working together, with the many business problems and perplexities, I was on my part, as I arrived at a fuller understanding of his high purposes and of his simple-hearted straightforward standard of action, more than ready to identify myself with his hopes and wishes. It is to me a great satisfaction to remember that the last six years of close business and personal association passed without a jar or a friction. If there had been any such instances, the fault must have rested with myself, for there was really no merit in working harmoniously with a partner of his temperament.

In the year succeeding my father's death came the panic of 1873. It is one of the difficulties of modern business that it can be affected so seriously by conditions and actions which are entirely out of the control of business managers. Through speculative investments in Buenos Aires, there came disaster to a great English banking house, with the result that American securities were thrown upon the market in New York. The amount was beyond the power of absorption of American investors, which meant a serious fall in the value of all securities, and a calling of loans, and brought failure to many and anxiety to all. Our young firm, or firm of youngsters, worried through the storm, and I have reason now to be appreciative of the friendly courtesy extended to us at the time by our bankers and other friends. We were able, morever, gradually to strengthen our credit relations with the banks, while one or two of the older friends and one or two later friends of my own were ready in time of need to render aid.

Some Business Undertakings. In 1874, under the

initiative and enterprise of my brother Bishop, the printing office was established, which in the later years was developed first into a manufacturing department and then into a separate manufacturing concern organized as The Knickerbocker Press, in which we were able to carry on all the processes required for the making of books. In this same year, 1874, we secured more spacious quarters for the business at 182 Fifth Avenue, which gave us facilities for widening out the range and the productiveness of the retail business. The top floors of the same building were utilized for our earlier book manufacturing operations. It came to pass, therefore, that the complete career of certain of our books was carried on within the building itself, the volume being put into type, printed and bound and delivered through the publishing office to the retail counter below for sale to the consumer. In one case at least, the author's work on the book was completed within the building, so that the same premises saw its birth and the years of its active life. There was, of course, a satisfactory advantage in securing from our publications the manufacturing profit on the one hand and the retail commission on the other. A year or two later, in connection with the requirements of the several divisions of the business, we took premises, as tenants of Arnold & Constable, of the building at 27 and 29 West Twenty-Third Street, where the concern remained for thirty years. In the early nineties, the book manufacturing undertakings had developed into sufficient proportions to warrant their being carried on in a separate establishment, and my brother constructed for the work of The Knickerbocker Press a building, or series of buildings, at New Rochelle.

Father Hyacinthe and Father Tyrrell. Among the transatlantic authors who came into the office in the late sixties was Father Hyacinthe, who would, I suppose, be

described as one of the early modernists. Hyacinthe had come under the censure of the Church authorities for preaching and for writing which was characterized as heretical. At the time of his landing in New York, I judge that he had not finally concluded that it would be necessary for him to break with the Church. He seems to have held the same hopefulness that some years later came to Döllinger as to the possibility of widening the intellectual standard of the Church Universal, so that it could frankly retain among its adherents the faithful representing various phases of belief. Hyacinthe was, like Döllinger and his associates some years later, fighting for the right of a man to think and to work out convictions irrespective of the trammels of the authority of Rome. Both men wanted to bring the Church abreast with modern thought, and both men were reverent Christians and were earnestly desirous that the hold of Christianity over mankind should be strengthened, and that the principles of Christianity should guide the work of the world. Both men felt that narrowness on the part of the authorities of Rome would drive out of the fold of the Church the able thinkers who were also honest thinkers, and would leave the Church under the control of men of smaller intellectual power, or of those who had intellectual force but who lacked integrity of conscience to hold or to maintain individual convictions. Forty years later, I came into personal relations with another faithful son of the church, an earnest Christian who had by honest thinking brought himself within the pale of heresy, Father Tyrrell. It was impossible for Father Tyrrell, even after his excommunication, to believe that he had been put out of the Church. He took the ground that the Holy Father had been badly advised and was not in a position to realize the honesty of purpose of the so-called modernists. I found Tyrrell in a little attic not far from the noise of Clapham Junc-

tion Station. In being put out of the Church, he had, of course, lost all opportunity of employment even as a teacher. He would have found serious difficulty in securing even his daily bread if it had not been for the friendly liberality of his publishers, the Longmans. I could not but be impressed at the pathos of the man's position. Earnestly desiring to work for Christianity, believing that the Lord had selected the Church Universal for the maintenance and propagation of the Christian faith, he found himself under the condemnation not only of his own Jesuit order, but of all the authority of the Church. He translated, at my instance, a little volume written by some modernist priests of Italy. These men were continuing their functions and their names could, therefore, not be brought into print. Tyrrell wrote the introduction and took the responsibility for the validity of the utterances and for the fact that these came from ecclesiastics who were still carrying on their work in Italy. The volume was to me a most pathetic expression of faith in the Lord and of doubt of the wisdom of him who believed himself to be the Lord's vicegerent on earth. Is the Church to class these earnest priests with the foolish or the dishonest? Is it the Lord's intention that the thinking powers that he has given to men are not to be used honestly, that is to say in accord with their own individual convictions? Shall all the expansion of knowledge and of intellectual life be pushed out of the Church and kept out of the Church as was the new wisdom in regard to the organization of the solar system and the universe kept out of the Church in the time of Copernicus? At this time of writing, the modernists have again been made dumb, suppressed, or, as far as identified, driven out of the Church. No one can prophesy what is to be the continued influence of the great Church Universal whose magnificent organization and miraculous

vitality ought, of course, to be made of the largest service through the generations to come, to all classes of men.

The Goodale Sisters. One of the books of those earlier years which made an unexpected success was a little volume of poems by the two daughters of a Massachusetts farmer, Elaine and Dora Goodale. The girls were at the time still but children, but had amused themselves in writing verses and losing them and finding them in hay stacks and chicken coops; the appreciative mother finally got together the scraps of paper, and a friendly editor who recognized their literary quality brought them to us. The volume, *Apple Blossoms*, secured in the first year of its sale a return for the little authors of one thousand dollars, and as there had never been any such money in the farmhouse before, there was, naturally, great rejoicing.

The "Battle of Dorking." The publishing undertakings of the new firm of G. P. Putnam & Son during the years immediately succeeding the war have been referred to in the *Memoir* of my father. Writing in 1915, I may recall among other of the books secured from Great Britain that clever story, which was intended to be a sermon rather than a romance, the *Battle of Dorking*, by Sir George Chesney. The story was first published anonymously in *Blackwood's*, but its authorship was later acknowledged by Chesney, who, if I remember rightly, was at the time chief of staff in the British army. The *Battle of Dorking* was the precursor of a long series of monographs and stories no one of which came anywhere near to Chesney's sketch in literary power or in military importance. The narrative is told in the first person with a vividness and power of presentation that recall the methods of Defoe. Its purpose was purely that of alarming the people of England to what Chesney believed to be the practically defenceless condition of the kingdom. It

was Chesney's belief that a single German army corps, once brought safely across the North Sea, would have little difficulty in making its way through the country and in taking possession of London. There was, of course, in the seventies no doubt as to the naval preponderance of Great Britain. The fleet of Germany was practically non-existent and the present great naval depot at Kiel was only a dream of the future. Chesney had imagined the possibility, as a result of a very sudden declaration of war, of slipping a fleet of transports across from Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck, which should elude the watchfulness of the British home fleet. What he wanted particularly to emphasize, however, was not naval preparation, which was, he assumed, in good hands, but the necessity of some better organization of the home territorial forces. The institution of the system of volunteers was undoubtedly chiefly due to the awakening of public opinion brought about by Chesney's brilliant sketch.

I had the opportunity years later of going over with my friend Oswald Crawfurd, who while not a soldier was the son of a general and had a keen interest in military science, the battlefield of Dorking. Crawfurd, who was then consul at Oporto, spent some months of each year in England and made his summer home in Dorking. I was not a little interested in tramping over the Dorking region with the book in my hand, to find how closely Chesney had in his narrative followed the topography. Each move made by the German army up to the time of the battle was that which was necessitated by the lay of the land, while every detail of the general fighting was connected with the slopes and ridges of the beautiful country of which Box Hill is the highest point.

Before this volume will come into print, the present European war (the war of German aggression) will probably have been decided. I venture to hazard the pre-

diction, however, that notwithstanding the aggressive force of submarines and of Zeppelins, the existence of which could, of course, not have been imagined in the time of Chesney, and notwithstanding the magnificent organization of Germany's fighting machine, it would today be as difficult as (Chesney to the contrary notwithstanding) I believe it would have been in 1869, for a German invading army to fight its way to London with any chance of ever getting back to Germany.

In 1915, we have found ourselves interested in bringing into publication through our London House a story by a well-known New York scientist, J. Bernard Walker, entitled *America Fallen*. I have referred to this book as a "new *Battle of Dorking*." Walker points out that unless Americans are prepared to take active measures for the protection of their coasts, the United States is exposed to the risk of invasion. The invader against whose possible aggression measures of defence must be shaped is the same aggressive power whose plans for Empire were thought by Sir George Chesney, as far back as 1869, to be dangerous to the independence of England.

The Writings of the Fathers of the Republic. In 1884, the Putnam firm began the publication of the series of writings of the Fathers of the Republic which belong among the most important of our publications and which may fairly be classed among the great publishing undertakings of the century. The writings of Washington, edited by Jared Sparks, had been brought into print early in the nineteenth century under the direction of Congress and at the expense of the national government. The writings of Hamilton, edited by his son John C. Hamilton, had been published in the early thirties; and an edition of the writings of Franklin, edited by his grandson, William Temple Franklin, had, in an incomplete form, been issued early in the century. Each of these editions had, how-

ever, been sharply criticized for lack of completeness and particularly for inaccuracies in the text. Dr. Sparks had thought it proper, in putting into print the correspondence and other utterances of Washington, to revise the English, to make the spelling consistent, and to eliminate expressions which did not seem to him (Sparks) in accord with the dignity and character of the Father of his country. The filial respect of Mr. J. C. Hamilton had caused him so to shape the memoirs and the writings of the illustrious Father as to omit reference to any matters which might tend to impair the respect for Hamilton on the part of later generations. William Temple Franklin, who at the time of his editorial work was an officeholder under the British government, had taken pains, in preparing for the press the writings of his active-minded grandfather, to eliminate as far as practicable all statements and expressions which might cause annoyance to English authorities or arouse antagonism on the part of the English public.

Our series was begun with the publication in 1885 of the set of Hamilton's works which was edited, and very successfully edited, by Henry Cabot Lodge. The *Federalist* as shaped for this set was later issued separately. We prepared as a frontispiece for the set a reproduction in photogravure of the Trumbull portrait of Hamilton which was at that time in the possession of Lodge's mother. I remember a visit to my office, sometime in 1885, of Charles Francis Adams, Jr. We had at that time business relations with Mr. Adams in connection with the publication of a couple of volumes on railroad management, and it was, I believe, in part at least the reputation that came to him through these volumes for practical knowledge of railroad affairs that secured for him later the presidency of the Union Pacific Railroad. I had hanging in the office at the time a proof of the photo-

gravure of the beautiful Hamilton portrait. As Adams came to my desk, he stopped to look at the print and I made some remark about the beauty of the face. "It's not a bad head, Mr. Putnam, but look at that damned inquisitive nose ready to poke itself into business with which it has no proper concern." I then remembered the old-time bitterness between John Adams and Alexander Hamilton, and realized that in the Adams family antagonisms and prejudices were hereditary.

I had occasion some years later, when the international copyright fight was in train, to secure help from Mr. Adams, who was one of the vice-presidents of the International Copyright League, to head off opposition to the copyright bill on the part of Moorfield Storey, a well-known leader of the Boston Bar. I found on one of my visits to Washington in behalf of the pending bill, that Storey was making arguments against the bill with members of the House and Senate committees. His opposition was, it seems, based upon a desire to be of service to two old ladies, the daughters of Littell, who, a number of years back, had founded *Littell's Living Age*. The *Living Age* was edited with scissors, being made up entirely from clippings from transatlantic and principally from English periodicals. Littell was dead, but his two daughters, who also understood the use of scissors, were getting a modest income out of the publication of the little magazine. Storey had got the idea into his head that an international copyright would prevent the continued publication of the *Living Age* and would take away the income of these old ladies, and, purely on the ground of friendly interest, he had come to Washington to defend their livelihood. I wrote to Adams, as president of the Union Pacific Railroad and as vice-president of the International Copyright League, asking that he would have the counsel of the railroad recalled to his duties in Boston.

I succeeded finally also in securing an interview with Storey himself and in making clear that his fears on behalf of the old ladies were not justified. I took the ground in the first place that no individual business ought to be permitted to stand in the way of a measure which involved national policy and the great interests of national literature. I said further, that the publishers and other members of the copyright league would be quite ready to guarantee to the two old ladies the income (about $5000 as Mr. Storey had reported) that they were securing from their magazine in case their business should in any way be interfered with by our copyright undertaking. I pointed out, finally, however, that the copyright bill as worded was not going to cause any interference whatsoever with the publication of *Littell's Living Age*. Under the provisions which had been inserted in the law by the typographical unions and the other bodies interested in the manufacturing side of book production, no work could secure American copyright that had not been "brought into print" within the territory of the United States. The magazines and papers from which the *Living Age* was made were not, and could not be, brought into print in the United States and their material, therefore, could not secure copyright protection. There was, therefore, nothing to stand in the way of the editorial scissors. Here was a leading lawyer of the Boston Bar who, at some sacrifice of valuable time, had come to Washington with the chivalrous purpose of helping a couple of old ladies, without having taken the trouble to read the text of the bill the enactment of which he was opposing.

Among the Senators who were, under the influence of Storey, prepared to oppose the bill was Justin S. Morrill of Vermont, who was I believe at that time the senior member of the Senate. In applying to Mr. Morrill for his support of the bill, I said that I felt every confidence

that a great New England leader whose standard of statesmanship had been of the highest, would be interested in a measure which had for its purpose the defence of national honour and the development of national literature. "But, Mr. Putnam," said Morrill, "this bill of yours is going to interfere with the publication of *Littell's Living Age*. I and my father before me have been taking in 'Littell' for half a century or more, and I understand from Mr. Storey that two old ladies are dependent upon the magazine for their livelihood." "Mr. Senator," I replied, "have you read the bill against which your opposition has been quoted?" The old gentleman replied a little testily: "Mr. Putnam, I am a legislator not without experience and I am not accustomed to give a definite opinion about matters that I have not mastered." "Permit me to point out to you, Mr. Senator," I said, "that in this instance you have acted under a misapprehension." I then read to him the provisions of the bill that had to do with the matter in question and pointed out that *Littell's Living Age* and other "scissors periodicals" were not going to be interfered with at all by this measure of international copyright. The old gentleman was a little taken aback. He hemmed and hawed and admitted that he had been mistaken. I told him that I had already reassured the special representative of the old ladies, and the Senator promised to give his support to the bill. These incidents connected with the fight for international copyright are, however, in advance of my narrative, having been referred to merely because they were connected with the name of Charles Francis Adams.

The second set in the series, the writings of Franklin, were edited for us by John Bigelow who was undoubtedly the best authority on the subject of Franklin's career. Bigelow's distinguished service to our country as representative in Paris during the years of the Civil War

belongs to recorded history. The veteran statesman lived to the age of ninety-six and was to the last a clear-headed and capable citizen, contributing his share of service and enlightenment to the community. He was at his death president of the Century Club and in his ninety-fourth year he gave before a large audience a charming talk on his personal relations with Victor Hugo. Bigelow had, while in France between 1861 and 1870, made a special study of the records in the residence of Franklin in the years 1776–1783. He had come to the opinion that the text of the autobiography of Franklin as first brought into print in London by his grandson was not authentic, but had been seriously garbled. It was Bigelow's good fortune to discover in Passy the manuscript, in large part autographic, which presented the complete and accurate text. This manuscript he placed at our service for the edition of the works and we utilized the same text later for a separate issue of the famous autobiography. The material, while a hundred years old, had not come into print until our publication in 1885. Its ownership was, therefore, until the date of publication, protected under common law and we were able to secure in Mr. Bigelow's name as the owner a copyright for the term of twenty-eight years from 1885.

The editing of the writings of Washington was placed in the hands of Mr. Worthington C. Ford, whose scholarship in American history made him in every way competent; the preparation of the writings of Jefferson was confided to Ford's younger brother, Paul Ford. Paul was equally capable as a scholar but was somewhat "difficult" in temperament and in methods. The "Jefferson" as completed was a first-class piece of work, but the task in the publishing office of bringing it into print under the perverse and exacting methods of the editor was by no means an easy one. In the course of the succeeding

twenty-five years, the series was completed with the publication of the works of Madison, Monroe, Samuel Adams, Jay, George Mason, Thomas Paine, and finally of Lincoln. Some years later, we associated with the same series a set of the Writings of my valued friend Carl Schurz.

Among the men of letters with whom during this period I came into pleasant personal association was Charles Dudley Warner, who had at that time some editorial responsibility with the *Hartford Courant*. Warner prepared about 1880 for one of our editions of Irving's Works a very charming and characteristic study of the character and writings of Washington Irving, with whose personality Warner was fully sympathetic. I remember one evening in New York, probably at the Century Club, on which Warner passed on to me what he called the "handshake of Shakespeare." He told me, with what I think was full belief on his part, that this handshake had been given to him by some friend in England with a trustworthy account of its heritage or transmission. The word was that some good Elizabethan had passed on to his next of kin the handshake as it had been given to him by the great poet and that through such next of kin the symbol had come down from generation to generation until it had finally reached (among many others who had shared in the transmission) the Yankee publisher.

"The Leavenworth Case." One afternoon, sometime in the winter of 1880, just as I was preparing to close my desk, a young lady and her father came in, the latter burdened with an enormous package of manuscript. The daughter was about twenty and admitted that this was her first attempt at literary production. The father did most of the talking, but his statement that the story that his daughter had produced was certain to attract widespread attention was a word that is listened to so often

in a publishing office that it did not impress me very seriously. I could only dismiss my callers with the usual word that the manuscript would receive careful attention. The great amount of material, the admitted inexperience of the author, even the detail that the script had been written not in ink but in pencil and on yellow instead of on white sheets, gave a pretty strong impression against the probability that the story possessed any publishing importance. I put a few of the first chapters into my bag and began the reading rather late in the evening when I had gotten through with other matters. I found myself annoyed, notwithstanding the troublesome strain on my eyes from the pencil script, that I had not brought home more chapters. The old man was right in his contention that the manuscript would attract at once the attention of the reader, for the book was the famous *Leavenworth Case*, and the murder, the solution of which constitutes the problem of the story, occurs in the second chapter. The narrative was absorbing and held the attention of the reader throughout, but its exceptional compass made it difficult if not impossible to manage on ordinary publishing lines. As first written, *The Leavenworth Case* contained about two hundred thousand words, that is to say enough for two novels of the average compass.

In arranging for another call from father and daughter I expressed my cordial interest and at the same time pointed out the difficulty from a business point of view in the management of such an elephant of a romance. With a good deal of protest, Miss Green accepted the task of eliminating certain portions of the narrative, but it was as if she had undertaken to cut up a baby. Twice did the manuscript go back for curtailment, but as finally printed, the volume still contained 160,000 words. The father's hopefulness about it has, however, proved to be justified by the continued interest of successive generations

of readers. *The Leavenworth Case* is one of the few American stories which thirty odd years after its first publication is still in continued demand, and by this date (1914) it must have reached the eyes and absorbed the attention of more than half a million of readers. The clever author has during the past thirty years continued to present from season to season detective stories ingenious in plan and dramatic in narrative. All of these later volumes have shown a full measure of ingenuity and dramatic quality, but no one of them has in the judgment of the fiction-reading public quite come up to the level of the first story, the work of a girl of nineteen. A successful book of a season is of course a good thing for a publisher to secure, but the securing of an author who can from year to year hold the attention of increasing circles of readers is, for the maintenance of a publishing business, a very much more valuable thing. Such authors constitute, unfortunately, but a very small percentage of the writers of any generation.

The Attempt to Protect Irving's Works. Our firm had continued the publication, in a variety of editions, of the works of Washington Irving, the arrangement for which had been made by my father on his return to New York in 1848. The revised editions had secured the protection of copyright for the term in force in the law back of 1891, twenty-eight years from the date of publication. This earlier statute provided that at the end of twenty-eight years, a renewal term of fourteen years could be secured by the author, or if the author were no longer living, by widow or by child. Irving had never married, and the nieces who for many years made his home circle, while considered by him as his children, had not been legally adopted. It was, therefore, not practicable to secure for the books, even in their revised editions, the protection of a second term of copyright and the copyrights

began to come to an end in 1876. The copyright protection for the original editions of the earlier works, of which the *Knickerbocker* dated back to 1809 and the *Sketch Book* to 1816, had, of course, long since come to an end.

In 1874, an enterprising firm of subscription publishers, Pollard & Moss, brought into print in one thick octavo volume a group of the earlier books reprinted from the text of these first editions, and this book was placed in the market under the title of the *Works of Washington Irving*. The advertisements and the descriptive circulars were so worded as to give the impression to any buyer or reader who did not have adequate knowledge of American literary production that he had before him the complete set of writings of this leading American author. These writings were, in the editions that the Putnams were then publishing, presented in twenty-six volumes, and it was, of course, a travesty upon the memory of the author, as well as a fraud upon the confidence of the reader, to induce him under this representation to buy as the complete productions of Irving a volume that contained only partial and fragmentary texts. In the case, for instance, of the book that appears in the works under the title of *Wolfert's Roost*, the Pollard & Moss volume contained a single magazine paper which had been published in the *Knickerbocker Magazine* under the title of "Wolfert's Roost."

We were naturally concerned at this serious invasion of the property value of Irving's works not only for ourselves but for the interests of the two surviving nieces of the author whose livelihood depended in large part upon the payments that the publishers were able to make to them from year to year. The Pollard & Moss volume contained no material still protected by copyright, and we could take action against it only on the ground that

in the form in which the material was presented the publication constituted an unfair interference with the good-will value of the copyrighted writings of Irving. We claimed further that the book as entitled and as described in the circulars represented an attempt to secure moneys from the book-buying public on fake statements. In these later years, and particularly since 1890, the American courts have been increasingly ready to protect literary producers and their business representatives against "unfair competition" and to protect the public against the risk of purchasing articles that were sold under false pretences or with misleading descriptions; but in 1874, at the time of this Pollard & Moss publication, the judges were not prepared to take a stand for the protection either of producers or of the interests of the public. In our suit against Pollard & Moss, Judge Van Voorst of the Supreme Court indicated in certain utterances that he was in sympathy with the purposes of the Putnams in their attempt to protect their clients, to defend their own business interests, and to prevent the public from being misled. He said, however, that he could find no provision of law which would enable our case to be maintained. The defendants had the right to publish material which was out of copyright; and as the writings so printed by them were the works of Washington Irving, they had the right to use this term in their descriptions. I ventured, through my counsel, to suggest that the court might order the defendants to print on the title-page of their book and in the descriptive circulars a caution to the public—some such term as *caveat emptor;* but this suggestion was treated as a joke. The Pollard Moss volume not only constituted in itself a serious interference with the Irving property but served to remind other unscrupulous reprinters that the Irving writings, or portions of them, were now open to appropriation. The returns from the sales of

the authorized editions were, of necessity, reduced from year to year, but we were able, however, to carry out what we felt to be an obligation to the nieces of my father's old friend and client, and to keep up to the end of their lives without any material reduction an average annual payment that was sufficient for their needs.

The Darling Suit. In the early eighties, we had occasion to defend our publishing rights in connection with a work on Anatomy, for the publication of which we had come into agreement with Professor Darling of the University Medical College. The Professor was a capable lecturer and he had devised a series of charts which had for their purpose the aiding of students to memorize the anatomical details of the human figure. The Professor was not himself a draughtsman, and the actual designing of these charts was done under his instructions by a clever Hebrew assistant. The mnemonic aid was presented in the form of a tree the branches of which represented in their relative importance the greater and the smaller bones of the human frame. These trees were drawn upon the blackboard by the assistant and sheets containing the same design were copied and used in memorizing the bones for use later in examinations. The doctor was working rather slowly over the preparation of his text for our volume, the illustrations for which were, in like manner, being drawn by his assistant. This assistant had, however, worked out a plan by which he was securing satisfactory direct receipts from the students. He wrote out the text of the lectures and connected with this text the reproductions of his own blackboard designs. He then had text and designs reproduced by one of the facsimile processes, and the sheets were sold to the students at two dollars a copy. The book that we had announced was to be charged at $3.50. The assistant securing these returns did what he could to delay the

work of the completion of the book. The doctor found that he was selling these transcripts, but was appeased by the payment to him of fifty cents a copy, and with this arrangement he was content to delay giving us the final material for the volume. We got knowledge of this production for sale of material the control of which had been assigned to us under contract, and we also found that the doctor was himself benefiting by the sale.

We brought suit under the charge of breach of warranty. The doctor was advised by his counsel that he had no defence, and before the suit was brought to trial he paid us one thousand dollars for damages. The assistant was either dismissed or threatened with dismissal, and our book was finally brought into publication.

CHAPTER V

Some Americans

Carl Schurz. With the final crushing out early in 1849 of the armed forces of the revolutionists, it became incumbent upon Schurz and his associates, whose names had been blacklisted by the Prussian authorities, to get out of the country promptly. Schurz found, however, a more commanding duty requiring his stay in Germany, whatever the risks of such stay might prove to be. His friend and leader Kinkel had been taken prisoner and had been condemned by some military court in Berlin to imprisonment for life. He was confined temporarily in a local prison in Spandau near Berlin. Schurz collected a little money from other friends of Kinkel, and making his way to Berlin, devoted some weeks to organizing a plan of rescue. After several unsuccessful experiments, one of the Spandau guards was found who was sympathetic with the purposes of the revolutionists, and some money was placed in trust which was sufficient to protect the family of this man from want in case, his connection with the escape being discovered, he should be disgraced and imprisoned. A rope was smuggled up into the room of the prisoner, and on the night appointed, the confidential guard being on duty, Kinkel, who complained later that he had had no training as a rope dancer, managed to get down from his window hand over hand.

The night was, fortunately, dark and rainy, and Kinkel was slipped into a close carriage that was waiting in the woods. He succeeded in getting through Holland into England where afterwards he was joined by Schurz. Both men were out of money, but they found occupation in teaching. Kinkel remained in England until his death some years later. Schurz, being still impecunious, married, with the rashness of youth, the daughter of another impecunious exile, on the strength of an appointment he had secured as the Paris correspondent of the *Allgemeine Zeitung*. He remained in Paris for a couple of years, but in 1851, when Louis Napoleon had his *coup d'état* in preparation, the authorities decided that Paris had better be freed from sojourners of revolutionary reputation. Schurz was on the black list and was promptly arrested, and after being in prison for some days trying to ascertain what charges had been filed against him, he was able to secure no more specific report than that these charges were very serious. He was told further, however, that a passport was available to take him to England, but that unless he were prepared to make immediate use of this passport his imprisonment would be indefinite. He finally came to understand the purpose of the authorities and accepted the passport.

It proved difficult to secure an income in London, and he decided, following the example of not a few of his revolutionary friends, to try his chances in the great Republic. Landing with his young wife in New York, he managed to secure a small income by teaching, and a little later accepted a post on a German-American paper in Wisconsin. A year or two before the war, he migrated to St. Louis, where he became one of the more important workers on the *Westliche Post*. He was in St. Louis when the war broke out, and his military experience in Germany, brief though it had been, was promptly utilized by the

Unionists of the city in the organization of a regiment made up chiefly of Germans. Schurz went to the front as lieutenant-colonel, but in the course of the year was given the command of a brigade, and having rendered distinguished service as a brigade and division commander, had the opportunity during the first critical days of the battle of Gettysburg of commanding the Eleventh Corps. During one year of the Civil War, he consented to accept the post of Minister to Spain, but preferring active service, he had returned in time to take part in the final operations. After the war, he was elected Senator from Missouri, and in 1876 he was appointed Secretary of the Interior by President Hayes. He distinguished his period of service in the Cabinet by introducing ordinary business methods into the Department that managed so important a division of the business of the country. In advance of the enactment in 1878 of the first Federal Civil Service Act, he established in his own Department a system of appointments and promotions under the principles of civil service. The example of the Department of the Interior was followed to some extent in the Treasury and even in the Post Office Departments, that had been the most largely dominated by the old-time spoil system of appointments. The work done by Schurz was of material service in preparing the politicians and the country for the operation of the Civil Service Act, and in this work, and in the honest application later of the new law, Schurz had the full backing of President Hayes. With the close of the Hayes administration, Schurz was thrown out of politics, or at least out of official politics. He had fought through the war as an anti-slavery Republican, and it was as Republican that he had served as Senator from Missouri. He had, therefore, no claim upon the Democratic party, but his independence of action and his refusal to accept the authority of the Repub-

lican leaders, men of the Blaine group, rendered it impossible for him to secure any further official position as a Republican.

In 1881, Schurz took up editorial work in New York on the staff of the *Evening Post*, a paper with the independence and non-partisan policies of which he found himself in substantial sympathy. The *Post* was at that time under the editorial direction of Mr. Godkin, who, as citizen and as editor, might be described as the typical independent or Mugwump. The two men respected each other cordially, and in certain matters were able to work together, but there arose differences between them on some sociological questions—chiefly I think in regard to the relations between labour and capital. Schurz was more of an idealist than Godkin, and was not so well trained or clear-headed as an economist. The first presidential campaign of Blaine brought Schurz back into politics, not for office-holding, but for leadership. He broke definitely with the Republican party, and through his influence with the great mass of German-Americans throughout the country, and outside of the German circles with citizens generally of an independent way of thinking, and his effective oratory, Schurz made himself an important factor in the defeat of Blaine.

Schurz was a natural orator, while his oratory represented a modification of the old-time oratorical ideals that characterized the speakers of the last decade of the nineteenth century. He never spoke except in behalf of something in which he was personally interested and for which his convictions and his sympathies had been secured. He had a keen sense of humour which served to lighten up even the fiercest of his denunciations of political chicanery. Wanting nothing for himself, he was absolutely fearless in his presentation of the methods of men whose influence was, in his belief, detrimental to the com-

monwealth. The fact that in these latter days there was no place in our political system for a born leader like Schurz is an example of the inconvenience, or to put it more strongly, the disadvantage, of the exaggerated local system that controls American political methods. In England or in France a citizen of Schurz's ability, possessing on the one hand special political capacity and power for influencing the voter, and on the other the ability to render the highest kind of service as an administrator, would have been promptly taken advantage of by some constituency with the political views of which he was more or less in accord, and which would have been honoured by the service of a representative of so high a standard of politics. Under the American routine, which makes it necessary for a member of the House of Representatives to be a resident of the district that elects him, and for a Senator to have a domicile in the State he represents, there was no place for Schurz. His work was being done in the city of New York which with a great Democratic majority was not prepared to include in its representation to Congress a man who had been an active Republican, while the type of Tammany-led democracy that controlled the Democratic organization of the city had in any case no use for a representative like Schurz whose aims were purely impersonal and whose service could never be utilized for the advantage of a faction or for furthering "commercial" politics.

Schurz acted later as representative for certain German investors in winding up the affairs of a bankrupt railroad, and he served for a year or two as the American director of the Hamburg Steamship Company. With no business training, his natural sense and his clear-headed judgment enabled him to fill with success and with honour every responsibility that came to him.

For a number of years, he gave service that, after the

death of George William Curtis, was particularly valuable, in the work of the National Civil Service Reform Association, in which he succeeded Curtis as President. He was probably the most effective of the Civil Service reformers in his power of showing up the absurdity of the contentions of the so-called "practical politicians" and the supporters of the spoils system dreaded his winged words more than those of any other of their opponents. He came to be known as the great German-American citizen, and he had occupied a position that was unparalleled in the history of the country. If any German, or for that matter any well informed citizen from Texas to Oregon, was asked who was the leading American of German birth, the reply would always have been Carl Schurz.

I once heard him say in a large gathering in New York: "I am inclined to take the ground that my American citizenship is of a higher order than that of men who were born Americans. You are citizens by the accident of your childhood; I am an American citizen by the free choice of my mature years."

In the later years of his life, at a time when having resigned the editorship of the *Evening Post*, he had no assured income, a group of public-spirited citizens, mainly those of German descent, got together a fund of one hundred thousand dollars which was presented to Schurz by a committee appointed for the purpose. He was naturally touched at this testimonial of the appreciation and the confidence of his German-American fellow-citizens, but he found it necessary to decline the gift. He pointed out that he must reserve for himself freedom of action. He suggested that there was always the possibility of some contingency arising in which his opinion in regard to the action and the duty of the United States might not be in accord with that of other American citizens of German birth. He could not take the risk of being exposed to any

influence, or the appearance of any influence, that would shape or modify his opinion on a question or on a duty of the day. With some little difficulty, as the money had been collected in small amounts from all parts of the country, the committee completed the task of distributing it back to the original subscribers. If Schurz had lived until 1914, such a contingency as he had foreshadowed would have arisen. His old comrade in arms, my brother-in-law, Dr. Jacobi, who had fought with Schurz in Germany on the barricades of 1848, took the ground at the outbreak of the war of German aggression that the fight had for its purpose the extension over Europe of the Hohenzollern ideas of government by militarism. Jacobi contended that the men of 'forty-eight had risked their lives and their liberties to fight against this same domination of military autocracy, and that there was no reason they should approve it now. He ventured the utterance that if his friend Schurz was living, Schurz would take the same position as himself. Jacobi came into antagonism with not a few of his German-born fellow-citizens, but sturdy old 'forty-eighter as he was, and is, he was not troubled by criticism of his position; and those of us who, like Jacobi, had intimate knowledge of Schurz, believe that Schurz's word and influence would in 1914 have been utilized against the war of Prussian aggression.

Chester A. Arthur. Sometime during the year 1880, I was called upon to serve as secretary for a conference of independent Republicans that had been brought together under the leadership of George William Curtis. The meeting was held at some house in Madison Avenue. It must have been considered as of some national importance as we had with us in addition to a group of independent New Yorkers, Charles Francis Adams from Boston and Charles J. Bonaparte, from Baltimore. I had in my work with the civic reformers come into some direct

knowledge of the method of machine politics in New York City, and in my own speech I must have characterized by name some of the operations of Chester A. Arthur, because, as I learned later, some utterance of mine at that meeting had remained in Arthur's memory.

I had not supposed that I was an important enough member of the body politic for any words of mine to carry weight with a political leader like Arthur whose future led him to the Presidency.

Arthur was by birth and by training a gentleman, but he had shown a fondness and an aptness for small political methods. He had, like Alonzo B. Cornell, been interested in doing what was in his power to undermine the principles and the provisions of the Civil Service Act by utilizing in political organizations the Federal employees,—the custom-house men and the post-office carriers. He had taken part in what might fairly be described as the "peanut" politics of the bar-room. He had political ambition, and it was in these earlier years his aim to secure political influence through the management of district henchmen rather than in impressing upon the great mass of voters the value of the measures that he was prepared to advance.

When, through the death of Garfield, Arthur became President, there were grave apprehensions as to his fitness for the post. It was dreaded that he might utilize in his counsel in Washington his old-time district political associates in New York, but these apprehensions proved not to be justified.

As has been the case with not a few other Americans to whom has come the opportunity of leadership, Arthur's character and capacity for good service developed under responsibility. He freed himself largely, if not entirely, from his old-time smaller political associates. He did undoubtedly the best that was in him during the three and a half years of his Presidency for the dignity and the welfare of the

Republic and in the performance of a task of exceptional difficulty he deserves to be commemorated with honour.

During one of the years of his Presidency, my wife was visiting in Washington at the house of my cousin Mrs. Loring who had married George B. Loring of Massachusetts. Loring was at that time Commissioner of Agriculture and was on good terms with the President. The wife had with her our oldest daughter, at that time a girl of ten, and thought that it would be pleasant for the child, as certainly it would be for herself, to have an opportunity of seeing the President. Arthur was gracious enough in regard to receiving a call from any guest of Dr. Loring. "What did you say was the name of the lady?" said the President. "Mrs. George Haven Putnam, who married a cousin of my wife." "George Haven Putnam is a liar," said the President; "he is one of those irresponsible reformers who have no regard for the reputation of other people," and then in a second: "But after all, that is not the fault of the wife or of the little girl. Let the lady come by all means and we will say nothing about her husband." So the wife and the daughter went and Arthur received them as a cordial gentleman and they never knew of the annoyance he had felt for two years or more against the "irresponsible" husband. Loring, however, who was a little anxious at the reception that might be given to his guests, had whispered to my wife the desirability of saying something pleasant to the President. She had been a little puzzled at the requirement, but had finally made the perfectly natural remark that her little girl was particularly interested in seeing a man who had more power than the Queen of England, a remark that possibly helped to keep Arthur's temper in order. She then went on with something that was a little personal and somewhat more troublesome. We were at that time living on Washington Heights, in a neighbourhood that

while a part of the city was then a very rural community. We had been somewhat bothered by the condition of a big sunken lot immediately to the south of our cottage, in which there had been permitted to gather stagnant water, disagreeable and possibly dangerous. The wife had found that this lot was the property of President Arthur and when he asked as a matter of form whether there was any way in which he could serve her, she responded frankly enough: "Mr. President, I do wish that you would give orders for the draining of your lot on 140th Street." He asked for particulars and it was evident that he had for some years forgotten about this particular property; it must be placed to the credit of a busy President that the remedy which he promised should be given to the difficulties complained of was, a few weeks later, duly put into effect. The lot was drained and the mosquito breeding and the risk of malaria were brought to a close.

The Death of Garfield. In July, 1881, I was, in accordance with my usual routine, sojourning in England. I had gone to spend the week-end with my friend Alexander Macmillan, the publisher, who had an attractive home just outside of London, on Balham Common. This estate, which in later years in connection with the growth of London had come to have a largely increased value, Macmillan, who had prospered in his business, finally transferred as a free gift to the diocese of London. It was his plan that the house should be utilized as the residence of the newly appointed Suffragan Bishop. On this occasion, Macmillan was entertaining at an annual festival the employees of his publishing house and had asked me down to help his sons and nephews look after the guests. I had given some help in steering the men through the grounds and had seen them well started at the national game of cricket, which I had played but in which I was not skilled enough to take part against English players. I had gone

back to the house for a rest and had taken a book in the library. The doorbell rang and the attendant showed into the library (Mrs. Macmillan was busy outside in the grounds) a young lady who had just arrived from London by train. She looked tired and curiously agitated. In reply to her enquiry as to whether I was her host, I had mentioned, naturally enough, that I was an American guest; and on hearing the word American, she began to tell me a piece of news that had just flashed across the cables to London and that she had seen on the billboard as she was taking her train. She was so much overcome, however, that I did not understand clearly what the trouble was. I could only make out the words "the President" and then she fainted, falling into my arms. The house was nearly empty, as everyone was engaged with the party on the lawn. I succeeded, however, in depositing the young lady (whom I recall as very pretty) on the sofa so as to be free to reach the bell and was much relieved to get hold of the housekeeper and to relinquish my charge. It was only a little later, when she had, in part at least, recovered her composure, that she asked the housekeeper to call me to hear the story. She had, it seems, heard in the station the announcement of the shooting of Garfield. She was a young American who had shown herself clever in recitations in monologue and she had been engaged by my host to come and help entertain his men. She was a sensitive girl and had been so much shaken by the shock of the news of the tragedy that I doubted for the moment whether she would be able to pull herself together for humorous recitations; but she showed the possession of good will-power, and the sympathetic word with a fellow-countryman served to relieve her first agitation. Her word to me was: "Don't worry Mr. Macmillan with any reference to my silly breakdown. I will be ready at the proper hour and I can tell him afterwards the news from

London." I heard her go through the first two or three recitations, which were given with full spirit and expression, and then being unable, or at least unwilling, to endure further suspense and not feeling sympathetic for social requirements, I excused myself with my hostess and took the next train back to London. At my club I secured the fuller details of the tragedy, but there was, I may recall, a period of weeks during which we still hoped that Garfield's life would be saved.

Jefferson Davis. I had occasion to come into a brief personal relation with Jefferson Davis which gave me a not very favourable impression of the fair-mindedness or strength of character of the man. Davis is best known to the later generation by his own memoirs, and it is largely his own fault if the judgment passed upon him in history is not more favourable. He had the opportunity in these memoirs of placing before the world the justification for the cause maintained by the Southern States. There was, of course, much to be said, on historic and other grounds, in defence of the contention that the Southern States had the right to secede and were fully justified in their efforts to establish a new nation. There was something (although, of course, very much less) to be said also in behalf of the conclusion that, possessing this legal right, they were morally justified in bringing upon the American community the enormous burdens of the Civil War. The record of what the Southerners did during the four years of the war, of the magnificent fighting of the men and of the patriotic patience and fortitude of the women, of the readiness on the part of men and women alike to make sacrifices for the cause in which they had placed their belief, such a record any man accepted as the leader of a great people might well have been proud to present. The subject ought to have given to a writer speaking from his own experience and with direct knowledge of the men and

events, a full measure of inspiration. If this leader of the contest, who had accepted the task also of being its historian, had been able even in any degree to forget himself, his own ambitions, his own disappointments, and his petty personal grievances, he had in his hands the material for a noteworthy history. The volumes as printed present no such history. We have here no broad statement of the foundations on which the Confederacy was to have been based. We have no good survey, political or military, of the events of the four years' war. We have no trustworthy characterizations of the leaders in this war. In place of these things, we have a thousand pages devoted in the main to the individual views of Davis, to the long series of bitter controversies for which Davis found occasion with the other Confederate leaders, and to specious defence of actions of the President which had resulted in misfortunes to the cause of the Confederacy. Davis had an enormous capacity for controversy, much of which was to be described by the less dignified name of quarrel. As far as one can judge, his difficulties in dealing with men appear to have been mainly due to his exaggerated subjectivity and an enormous bump of self-esteem. There can be no question that his action at critical times during the four years' struggle in pushing out of active operations such leaders as Beauregard and Joseph Johnston, his jealousy of Sidney Johnston and of Lee, his insistent interference with military operations of which he had only a partial knowledge, did very much to weaken the cause of the Confederates. If, after Appomattox, Davis had succeeded (as Lincoln intended Davis should succeed) in getting away from the country, it is probable that he would have been made the scapegoat of the lost cause. Upon his shoulders and upon his memory would have been placed not merely the errors and the sins for which he was justly responsible, but some of the blunders of

others. It was, however, his exceptional good fortune to have been kept a prisoner for some months after the close of the war, with a trial for treason hanging over his head. As President of the Confederacy, held under charges of treason against the United States, he was the fitting, the necessary, representative of its principles. There came to him the benefit, therefore, of all the sentiment connected with the lost cause. Instead of being the scapegoat he ends his official career as the hero, or at least as almost the hero, of the Confederacy. Even this exceptional position of Davis could not take away from Lee the honour that fairly belongs to the real hero of the Southern cause.

One of the disappointments that came to the old Confederate was in the lack of success for his memoirs. He assumed that these were waited for and would be eagerly read not only by his Southern countrymen but throughout the North and throughout Europe. The book was published by the Appletons and secured a sale of a few thousand copies. The people in the South were too poor to buy books and did not find themselves interested in volumes devoted, as said, so largely to personal controversy on small issues that were then dead and that ought to have stayed buried. The book was treated with very little respect by reviewers either North or South. Davis, for the time at least, accepted his disappointment in quiet; but when, a year or two later, the memoirs of General Grant secured a sale of a quarter of a million copies, the grievance of Davis took the form of indignation with his publishers. He was convinced that he had been betrayed by these Northerners who had accepted the responsibility of presenting his book to the world. In place of making, through some representative in New York, a direct enquiry of his publishers as to what had been done and as to what still might be done to secure sales for his book, he

permitted himself to bring into print in newspapers in the South paragraphs which came to be copied in newspapers in the North, making all kind of charges against his wicked Northern publishers. The Appletons naturally told Davis that these invidious and more or less libellous paragraphs must cease, and they finally brought pressure to bear upon the old man through some of his friends who had business common-sense. The publishers pointed out that if he had doubts as to the faithfulness of their business management or the accuracy of their accounts, he had better appoint a representative with power to look into the whole matter. Davis called the journalist Donn Piatt to represent him in an investigation of the accounts and records of the publishers. The Appletons asked me to confer with Piatt as their representative. After the papers had been placed in our hands and the books had been opened for our inspection, we exchanged one or two letters and had one interview. At the interview, Piatt said very frankly: "Major, my client has no case. Mr. Davis is getting old and has evidently confused his mind with false impressions. I will see that the necessary *amende* is made to the publishers and Mr. Davis will have to be induced to keep quiet in the future." Piatt was very gentlemanly about the whole business and the matter was, of course, easily made straight with the Appletons. It is probable indeed that at the time Davis's mind had already been somewhat weakened. His natural vanity, when his judgment had become impaired, had brought him into this difficulty, as it had brought him into previous difficulties.

He was certainly a man of large intellectual powers. He had won distinction as a young soldier in the Mexican War. He had taken place in the first group of the leaders in the South in the United States Senate. He had borne with undiminished courage the burdens and discourage-

ments of the four years' struggle and had shown himself undaunted to the last. His courage and his patriotism could not be questioned, and yet it is probable that the South would have come very much nearer success if it had placed the leadership of its cause in the hands of some man of better judgment and of less vanity.

The Blaine-Cleveland Campaign. In 1884, the presidential campaign became a very bitter contest indeed. James G. Blaine had, against strong protests from a minority of the delegates, been nominated by the Republicans and Grover Cleveland became the choice of the Democrats. Cleveland had come to the front as a result first of his sweeping victory in the gubernatorial election in New York State in which he had secured over a very reputable opponent, Judge Folger, the unexampled majority of 192,000; and as the result further of an excellent record in his work as Governor. Blaine was the natural leader of the Republican party. He was a man of exceptional capacity and of large experience in politics and he had shown his influence and power in the management of men. He was not only a most successful speaker to popular audiences but a clear-headed and able debater among his associates first in the House and later in the Senate. He knew how to defend the special tenets of the Republican party in such matters as the protective system, the maintenance and the extension of the powers of the national government, etc. He had in full measure the peculiar quality described as personal magnetism. The men with whom he came into personal association, even those who differed from Blaine politically, or who doubted his integrity, found it difficult to resist the fascination of his manner. Against such a candidate, Grover Cleveland worked with certain material disadvantages. He was a man whose education had been limited, although after attaining his majority he had done what was practic-

able, through extended reading, to make up his deficiencies. He had a good working knowledge of the practice of the law, but could never have been described as a jurist. He had no sense of humour and was lacking in cultivation. He made a strong circle of friends who felt that they could place implicit confidence in Cleveland's word and in the courage with which Cleveland would maintain, at whatever risk to his own interests, political or other, his convictions and his consistency. Of personal magnetism he had no trace. If a man was an opponent, it was Cleveland's nature to accept the fact and to treat him as such. Even with the members of his own party with whom he might find himself in substantial accord in the larger number of the issues of the time, Cleveland found it difficult and often impossible to maintain satisfactory relations if they were opposing him on other issues that seemed to him to be vital and the right solution of which he believed to be essential for the interests of the nation. A leader of this kind may impress himself, as Cleveland impressed himself, upon the confidence of the people, but he finds difficulty in maintaining in good working order the organization of his party. It is rather a matter of surprise that with such serious difficulties in the way, Cleveland succeeded not once but three times in securing nominating majorities in the convention and in two elections, popular majorities at the polls.

In this election of 1884, the Democratic leader possessed one substantial advantage which, after a very closely contested campaign, finally turned the scale in his favour. Blaine's official record was by no means without reproach. It was in evidence, not through the charges of opponents, but through his own letters that came into publication, that he had utilized his opportunities as Speaker of the House to further certain business undertakings in which he had himself assumed a direct interest. The interest

that had been given to Blaine was in fact assigned not in consideration of money paid, but for the sake of securing the service that he could render as Speaker. The so-called Mulligan letters which brought before the public the record of Blaine's relations with a certain railroad in Arkansas, and other similar evidence that under the searching investigation of a campaign came to the knowledge of the voters, proved to be sufficient to cancel the Republican majorities of four years back and, in giving to the Democrats the vote of New York, to secure the election of Cleveland. New York State, having at that time about nine millions of voters, gave to the Democrats a majority that was counted by hundreds. If my memory serves me rightly, the actual figures were below seven hundred. In New York as in certain of the Western States, the opposition to Blaine was led by old-time Republicans like George William Curtis and Carl Schurz. The influence of the latter was particularly important in the communities where the German vote was large. The result showed that without the co-operation of these old-time Republican leaders, the Democrats would in fact have had no chance of success.

I took some part, under the leadership of Curtis, in the campaign in New York. I remember one meeting that was brought together under the management of my brother Kingman in the town of Yonkers, not yet a city, at which I had to bear the responsibility as chief speaker. Yonkers had in the previous election gone Republican by six or seven hundred. In November, 1884, the Democrats carried the town by something less than three hundred. My brother Kingman and I naturally took upon ourselves the credit for this change of vote, which, as the result showed, was in itself sufficient to turn the scale in the State. But what was true for Yonkers was true for Gravesend, where the Republican leader was a man

of no character who afterwards found lodgings in the State prison, and in a number of other communities where the Republican hold was not strong or where the direct influence of speakers like Curtis and Schurz was brought to bear.

Grover Cleveland. I was introduced to Cleveland during the campaign and later saw something of him in Washington. I came to have a cordial respect for the sturdiness of the man and to realize that he was the kind of leader, as he proved to be the kind of President, who helps to make a good political standard for the country. Attractive personally he certainly was not. Mind and speech worked slowly and he found it very difficult to be even graceful in his relations with men who were working loyally on his behalf. Like many other Americans, however, he showed that it was possible even after middle life to develop in more directions than one, and his cultivation (if that term can properly be used) was furthered and his manners were certainly improved by the influence of the charming woman, his ward, Miss Folsom, whom he was fortunate enough to secure as wife, and who made a most successful mistress of the White House.

During my visits to Washington in 1884–1888 in connection with the work for international copyright, I had the opportunity of seeing something of President Cleveland and of coming to know his charming wife. Cleveland took an intelligent interest in the purpose of our copyright undertaking, and while we did not succeed in bringing the bill to a vote until after the expiration of his term, he had been able, particularly through his relations with certain of the Congressional leaders from the South, to secure important support for the measure. He was quite disappointed that the bill did not become law over his signature. Mrs. Cleveland was also very

much interested in the undertaking and was hoping that we should bring our contest to a successful issue in time to secure for Cleveland's administration the prestige of its accomplishment. I was impressed with her clear-headed knowledge of the personalities of the Congressmen North and South and with her clever faculty of outlining in a few words the characteristics of the men whom we were checking off on our list. She was ready to use her social influence (and her personal charm gave her a very large measure of influence in official society) for the purpose of interesting in the cause of international copyright certain Congressmen who knew little and cared nothing about literary property. This was, in fact, the state of mind of a large number of the Representatives and of not a few of the Senators, particularly those from the South and South-West. A man who had no conviction on a pending question could well be excused for promising a hostess like Mrs. Cleveland that he would "look into the matter" and that if the measure was one in which she was interested, it must be entitled to his vote.

I gathered the impression from my first observations of the President and of his young wife that the marriage was a very happy one, an impression that was confirmed in my later relations with them in their home in New York and by my knowledge of their final home life in Princeton. Cleveland was a great citizen, but, taking his cultivation or civilization late in life, he never succeeded in securing a full measure of social refinement. His value to the country was in the possession of clear-cut opinions which became convictions to be held to, of full integrity of purpose and unquestioned courage. If he believed that a thing ought to be done and that he was the man to do it, no question as to the possible results upon his political future or his personal relations was permitted to stand in the way. His leadership in the furthering of the cause

of Civil Service Reform and in the long fight that was carried on in behalf of honest money (in Cleveland's time a fight waged against the supporters of the silver "dollar of our fathers" that meant the payment of debts with fifty cents on the dollar) were great contributions to the welfare of the nation. These and other more or less similar contests showed what could be done by a clear-headed and courageous executive in guiding public opinion and in accepting the responsibilities of a real leader. The political leaders of his party were often at odds with Cleveland on the ground of his lack of appreciation of political necessities and of party policies, but he secured in very full measure the confidence of the people at large in both parties and the estimate of the value of the service rendered by him to the country has grown in the years since his death. If he could only have united with his clear insight and courageous convictions a little more tact and grace of method and of manner, and a larger readiness to consider the personalities of the other fellows, whether political associates or opponents, his success in carrying out the causes that he had at heart would have been very much greater.

I had later an instance in my own relations with him of his lack of grace and of his failure to understand the real requirements of the situation. After his defeat for re-election, Cleveland had accepted an invitation to associate himself with the firm of which Francis L. Stetson, one of the leaders of the New York Bar, was the head. It was stated at the time that the firm guaranteed to Cleveland an income of not less than $25,000 a year. Cleveland had had comparatively little practice in the law and it is difficult for an outsider to understand how his legal service could have been made to earn any such money. Stetson was a loyal friend and it is probable that this business arrangement

was largely influenced by his desire to serve the great leader.

My firm had at that time in train an edition of the works of Thomas Jefferson, prepared for the series of writings of the Fathers of the Republic. I realized that Cleveland was by no means out of politics. The Democrats were, in fact, at the beginning of the four years of Harrison's term, referring to Cleveland as the natural candidate for the next Presidency. It seemed to me possible that Cleveland might have some message to give to the people indicating his view of the political situation, or a statement of what the Democratic party in 1888 ought to stand for. It occurred to me that such message might be given conveniently and with dignity as an introduction to the set of works of the old Democratic leader Jefferson. I secured an appointment, and calling at Cleveland's law office, gave half an hour to the presentation of my suggestion. I said frankly that I did not imagine that the amount that we should pay for such an undertaking would be sufficient to offset the value of the time of a leading lawyer. I pointed out, however, as a citizen who had voted for Cleveland and who hoped to have the opportunity of voting for him again, that there were thousands of citizens throughout the country who would be keenly interested in securing Mr. Cleveland's views on democracy; and that there could be no better place for presenting these views than in an analysis of the democracy of which Jefferson was the exponent, with the necessary explanation as to the modifications required eighty years later for the changed conditions and the new questions to be decided. Cleveland was impressed with this suggestion and told me he would think the matter over and would give me his decision a day later. In twenty-four hours I had report that he would prepare the introduction and would have it in readiness at the date that I had specified, within, I

think, thirty days. The paper was promptly delivered a day before the date fixed, but when I had completed my reading, I found myself quite disappointed as to the results of my experiment. There would be an incidental service from the point of view of a publishing house in associating the name of Cleveland with the set of the works of Jefferson, but there was nothing in the paper itself that could give to the readers any important addition to the principles of democracy or to their knowledge of the real opinions of the Democratic candidate. Acting, I imagine, under the influence of some political advisers, Cleveland, instead of utilizing the essay for a clear-cut statement, similar in tone, for instance, to his message on the "sixteen to one" dollar, had devoted his pages to a series of generalizations which became truisms. The essay was heavy without containing anything of weight. Under the circumstances, I was not in a position to criticize it nor could I even suggest any modifications. There was no ground for objecting to any particular statement, and the only improvement that could have counted involved a rewriting of the paper with a much greater freedom of action and without the feeling that it was necessary to avoid controversial topics. I proposed, of course, to utilize the introduction because it would still have business value, but I felt disappointment, not only as a publisher but as a Democrat interested in the success and in the character of a great Democratic leader. I wrote, therefore, acknowledging the receipt of the essay and saying that Mr. Cleveland would receive proofs in due course. A week later I had a call from Carl Schurz. Mr. Schurz was an admirer and strong supporter of Cleveland and I had myself for a number of years had with him cordial personal relations. I admired him as one of the ablest and one of the best citizens of the land. Schurz explained that he had come as an ambassador and

that he had a request to submit. I said at once that I could hardly think of the possibility of failing to meet any request coming to me from Schurz. "Well," he said, "this is not a matter for myself. I come to you on behalf of my friend Cleveland. Since he sent to you the manuscript for that introduction for Jefferson, he has given further thought to the material and he is not satisfied with it. He does not want it to be published. He thinks it on the whole better that he should not attempt at this time to come into print with any such publication. He realizes, on the other hand, that he has entered into an engagement with you on the matter and that you have the right to insist upon this engagement being carried out. Learning that you were a friend of mine, he asked if I could induce you to let him have the paper back." I replied that there was no difficulty in the matter at all; that while the use of the introduction with this set was important from the publishing point of view, we should be entirely unwilling to bring the material into print if Mr. Cleveland now found objection. I said that any such request would have been agreed to at once if made by him —Schurz—but that I should have agreed to it with much more satisfaction if Mr. Cleveland, instead of using a representative, had applied to me himself either by word or by letter. I said frankly that I did not like Cleveland's distrust of my willingness to serve him and that I thought his action in the matter was not graceful. Schurz agreed with me in this and reminded me that Mr. Cleveland's relations with the world outside of the official circles of Buffalo, Albany, and Washington had been restricted. He remarked further: "Cleveland is not always successful, Haven, in the management of his relations with men. He is not quick in understanding the different personalities with which he has to do." The next day I sent the introduction back with a formal note, but I retained a copy

which naturally has never been utilized. Within a week or two, I met Cleveland at a dinner gathering, and for a few minutes was with him alone. I supposed that he would take the opportunity of giving me some direct acknowledgment of my readiness to meet his wishes and to free him from a troublesome engagement. He made no reference to the matter whatsoever and I never received any word of thanks or of appreciation. I was able in this little matter to realize the disappointment of some of his political associates who, while honouring the leader, found him a difficult and an ungracious man to work with and to work for.

Henry Villard. In 1893, was completed the last link in the transcontinental line of the Northern Pacific Railroad. The company, the first organization of which had come to a close some years back with the failure of Jay Cooke & Co., had been resuscitated under the energetic management of Henry Villard. Villard was an Alsatian by birth and his original family name was Hilgard. He had in his nature a strain of romance that was rather exceptional for a man who showed later such distinguished business capacity. During his later school days or early college days, he decided under the influence of some whim (incited possibly by the example of Richter's hero Ziebenkäs in the *Fruit, Flower, and Thorn Pieces*) to exchange names with a school friend. The name Henry Villard thus adopted he brought with him on migrating as a youngster to the United States and retained through his future life. He landed without friends and with but a trifle in money. After several experiments at employment, he secured work in Boston as secretary to the Social Science Association and found himself in a circle of Boston reformers whose ideals and mental activities were in the late fifties doing so much to excite the country. He became acquainted with William Lloyd Garrison, who

shared with Wendell Phillips the leadership of the anti-slavery party, the men who believed that rather than to endure any continued responsibility for the crime of slavery, it was better that the Union should be broken up, and that the slave communities should be driven out to manage their own affairs according to their own standards. Young Villard was fortunate enough to win as his wife the beautiful and high-spirited daughter of Garrison, and Mrs. Villard showed the strength of her qualities and the fineness of her nature as well in the earlier days of the struggles of an impecunious and hard-working married life as in the later years in which she had the satisfaction of utilizing, with wise counsel and with a large-hearted altruism, in all kinds of benevolences the wealth that had been secured through the skill and energy of her Alsatian husband.

I recall one incident of the earlier years of Fanny Garrison before young Villard had come into her experience. The year must have been about 1860, at the time when, in connection with the enforcement in Boston of the Fugitive Slave Law, the issues between the anti-slavery group and the conservative merchants who wanted to see "the Constitution supported and the laws enforced" had become very bitter indeed. Garrison was on the platform at a meeting in one of the big halls, but the audience which had come together showed itself very largely antagonistic to his views and teachings and would not even give him a hearing. The tumult was great and the prospect of carrying on the meeting seemed to be hopeless. Someone on the platform suggested that they might try the experiment of sending the girls through the hall to take up a collection and Fanny Garrison, a pretty girl of sixteen; and her equally charming school friend Rebecca Shepard (who later became my wife) took the collection boxes through the tumultuous audience. The men were

standing, brandishing their fists, shaking sticks, and threatening all kinds of penalties upon the wicked anti-slavery agitators, but the girls, unafraid, made their way through the aisles and actually returned with money; and, what was for the leaders more important, the fact that those girls had been willing to put confidence in the fairness and decency of an almost riotous mob, brought the assembly to some sense of fairness and decency. Garrison secured a hearing then and later.

Garrison and Phillips were heard not only by the people in Boston but by their fellow-citizens throughout the country. And impracticable as were for the moment most of their theories and recommendations, it is the historic fact that the sense of indignation brought about throughout the mass of the Northern people by the burning words and bitter invectives of these teachers, the prophets who were making clear the national sin of slavery, played a very large part in creating the public opinion that finally resulted in freeing the country from the national curse. The work of prophets nearly always includes overemphasis, exaggeration, injustice, and lack of consideration for other people, but such work is essential if masses of men are to be moved with a great impulse, and with a full measure of conviction; and without an earnestness of conviction and a burning ardour of purpose, no great national movement has ever been accomplished.

The later career of Henry Villard was varied. After giving some years' service to the work of the Social Science Association, he went into journalism and was one of the war correspondents of the *New York Tribune.* He saw what may be called "active service" (and the journalists at the front had their full measure of the privations and risks that came to the soldiers) with Grant's army at Pittsburg Landing and at Chattanooga; and in his volume of reminiscences, he has given vivid and dramatic accounts

of the battles and characteristic pictures of leaders with whom he came into contact. After the war, he took a trip to the far North-West in behalf of the *Tribune* and of some Chicago paper for the purpose of reporting on the conditions of the region that was to be opened up by the Northern Pacific Railroad which was then in plan. The information he secured as to the potential wealth and possibilities of the country gave him a large confidence in the coming prosperity of the communities that were to be developed when the communications were completed and in the profits that were to be secured by the railroads that would control these communications. He was able, after the failure of Jay Cooke & Co., which involved the breaking down of the first Northern Pacific Company, to impress capitalists on both sides of the Atlantic, including an important group in Berlin, with the possibilities of the railroad and with his own capacity for management or at least for leadership in this scheme. As far as it is possible to judge at this time, nearly a quarter of a century after the event, Villard's calculations were on the whole well founded. His enthusiastic optimism impaired, however, the value of his estimates as to the expense of the construction of the road, which had some great engineering difficulties to contend with, and as to the time required for building up for it a profitable business. In 1893, the construction of the road was completed, but a few months thereafter the second Northern Pacific went into bankruptcy. A large portion of Mr. Villard's fortune was swept away and he came under a full measure of criticism on the part of friends and acquaintances who on the strength of his optimism had risked their money in the undertaking. With those who knew the man, no question could be raised as to his integrity of purpose and of action, but his opportunities as a leader of finance were at an end.

One portion of his scheme for the promotion of the railroad company deserved a better fate. The company had secured in the contract with the general government an allotment of alternate sections of government land in the region through which it passed. This land had a varied value, but much of it was valuable for timber, for arable purposes, or for water power. The future of the road depended upon hastening the settlement of the country so as to insure the creation of products which could find a market only by means of the road itself. Villard organized, under the leadership of Raphael Pumpelly, a well-known mining engineer, a corps of investigators who were to take what might be called a statistical census of the resources of the region that was to be opened up, and in part controlled, by the new road. Experts in different divisions of research were charged with the work of reporting upon the arable land, the mining resources, the timber supplies, and the water power. It was the plan to put into shape a series of reports, absolutely trustworthy in their statistics and presented in good literary form, that would be utilized by settlers and by investors. The preparation and the printing of these reports would involve an outlay of about $150,000. The properties that were to be brought into sale by means of trustworthy information made available for the markets on both sides of the Atlantic and for the use of settlers and investors, had an aggregate value of many millions. The outlay seemed, therefore, to be fairly well justified by the business possibilities and by the business necessities. The financiers who after the failure reorganized the road under the presidency of Mr. Billings, decided rather hastily that the so-called "cyclopædia of resources" was one more of Villard's "vague, visionary schemes" and they brought the whole undertaking to a close. Pumpelly begged that he might be allowed a sufficient sum of money at least to enable his

assistants to work up their field notes, in the collection of which notes a considerable expense had already been incurred. He offered to give his own service without compensation (a period of perhaps one year would be required) in order to preserve the results of these preliminary surveys. Mr. Billings and his associates declined the proposition rather curtly and the field notes collected by a dozen or more workers, which could be made available only if transcribed by the men who had taken them, were thrown away. The region has during the past ten years attracted an increasing number of settlers and the sections which were the property of the road have from year to year found sale. There seems no question, however, but that the sales of land, the development of settlements, and the furthering of investments would have received an enormous impetus if the volumes of reports as planned by Pumpelly could have been completed and brought before the public.

John Bigelow. In December, 1911, I was sent for by my old friend, John Bigelow. He desired a word of counsel in regard to the arrangements for the publication of the final volumes of his memoirs, and with consideration for the pressure on the hours of a busy publisher, he asked me to be with him at the time of lunch.

Thirty years earlier, at the time when Bigelow was editing for my firm the writings of Franklin, he had been in the habit of appointing the lunch hour at his pleasant home in Gramercy Park as the time for talking over editorial and publishing details. In this month of December, 1911, Mr. Bigelow was in his ninety-sixth year. His eyes were clear, his hearing was perfect, his voice, while occasionally a little broken, was in good tone, and his understanding was, as always, incisive and comprehensive. We all knew that he had during the past year been losing strength, but he looked to me so sturdy at the time of this

interview that I felt no apprehension for the immediate future. It proved, however, to be the last word I had with my old friend. A few days later, he had another attack of the trouble that ended his life.

I had as a youngster been brought by my father into relations with Mr. Bigelow, who, first by reason of his association with Bryant, and later by his commanding presence, charming personality, wide range of knowledge, and keen interest in public affairs, had won a high place among the leaders of society and of affairs in New York. The five volumes of reminiscences which were brought into print in 1910–13 present a faithful record of the career of an American of the best type. Bigelow's service was always capable, always public-spirited, and at times exceptionally important. He had the opportunity, first as consul-general, later as chargé, and finally as minister in Paris during the strenuous years of the war, of rendering most distinctive and valuable aid to the cause of the Republic. The sympathies of Louis Napoleon and his associates, and of the *haute finance* of Paris (which, with the co-operation of Morny and other associates of the Emperor, was largely interested in the speculative possibilities of the control of Mexico by France) were almost entirely on the side of the Confederates. It was the expectation of official France and of speculative France—and the official France of the Second Empire was very speculative—that our great Republic was to be broken up. The Confederate representatives in Europe naturally, and very properly, made full use of this disposition on the part of Louis Napoleon. They had an assured footing in Paris and in the great naval stations. They had at one time in preparation in the French dockyards no less that five vessels designed for the Confederate navy. It was evident that the instructions given to the officials at the ports were very similar to those that had been issued by Vergennes

from 1776 on to the officials of the government of Louis XVI. Vergennes intended that all facilities should be extended to Franklin and to Beaumarchais for the distributing of supplies for Washington's army, that could be given without a direct break with Great Britain. In like manner Drouyn de Lhuys, while speaking fair to Minister Dayton and to the much more energetic and persistent Consul, Bigelow, as to the absolute neutrality of the Empire, was with his left hand extending all possible facilities for the fitting out from French ports of Confederate cruisers. Bigelow was, however, so watchful and so energetic in the collection of evidence that, first with one ship and then with another, he succeeded in making it impossible for the Confederates to get a vessel equipped and started from a French port without such breach of neutrality as would have meant an absolute state of war between France and the United States. This Louis Napoleon was not prepared for unless and until he could secure, as he was always hoping through Palmerston to be able to secure, the co-operation of Great Britain. If I remember rightly, but one Confederate cruiser, the *Stonewall Jackson*, got away from a French port. The pernicious *Alabama* was given hospitality in Cherbourg, and if she had been disabled instead of being sunk, it is probable that she would have been permitted to refit under French guns. But the fighting of the *Kearsarge* was so effectively managed that there was nothing left to refit.

Mr. Bigelow made his residence for some time in Passy, a few miles from Paris, and he was fortunate enough there to discover the original manuscript of the autobiography of Benjamin Franklin. The duplicate of Franklin's manuscript had been taken to England by his grandson William Temple Franklin and by him had been edited for the press. The grandson had done for the autobiography

what he had done for the letters, eliminated, extended, and smoothed down. The book had too much character to be spoiled even by such editing and it had remained a classic from the date of its first printing; but it was only through Mr. Bigelow's good fortune and good judgment that the unexpurgated and complete text was finally brought into print.

Bigelow was a close friend of Samuel J. Tilden, and was a strong supporter of Tilden's claim for the Presidency at the contested election of 1876. If Tilden had been inaugurated, Bigelow would have been Secretary of State and the country could not have secured the service of a man better equipped for the post. He possessed the knowledge of men, conditions, and affairs in Europe, and he possessed also a calm-minded judgment and freedom from subjectivity that go to the making of a statesman.

For a long series of years preceding his death, Mr. Bigelow had been the president of the Century Club, and in the last year of his life, a committee of which he was chairman had brought to completion the task of the erection of a monument to Bigelow's old associate, Bryant. This monument was inaugurated in Bryant Park back of the Library a few weeks before Mr. Bigelow's death. If he had been strong enough to appear in the open, the transfer of the monument to the city would have been made by him as the chairman of the committee, as the president of the Century Club, and as the oldest living associate of the dead poet.

The Centurions ought now to put in train plans for the erection of a monument that will help to preserve for New York the memory of the beautiful features and the dignified presence of their dead president, who was a great citizen, and a fine type of the American gentleman.

William H. Baldwin. Each generation of citizens produces a group of men who are free from self seeking and

who, recognizing their obligations to the community, are prepared to give their work and their capacities for doing what may be in their power for the service of their fellow-men. I am enough of an optimist to believe that the percentage of patriotic citizens of this class does increase from generation to generation. I do not believe that there is any very great change in the basis of human nature or of the motives that influence human action. I do think, however, that in the development of the Republic, there comes about a better understanding or a fuller understanding on the part of a larger number of men, first as to the possibilities within their reach for good citizenship, and secondly as to the obligation, not only to their fellow-citizens but to themselves, to do to the full extent of their power what is placed within their reach. It is certainly the case that since, during the years after the war, I first came into touch with citizens' work, I have come to know a larger number of men with this kind of standard of life and of ideals. The great leaders, the men whose lives could safely be utilized as examples and as inspiration, men such as Curtis and Schurz, come at intervals, and probably about so many to the century. In looking back over the record of the great citizens, I recall the calculation of the mathematician, Proctor, who pointed out that, in every thousand whist hands, there will be just so many trumps. It is the natural feeling, as these leaders die, that they are not being replaced. There may be, there often are, gaps, periods when there seems to be an absence of strong men. The precise times of their coming must be uncertain but no generation is left without leadership. The factor that has changed from half-century to half-century or from decade to decade is the number or proportion of faithful followers; of the men who are not going to achieve national fame or even perhaps to become known outside of their immediate home commun-

ity. But these men will accept ideals and will recognize leaders, and it is they who give the labour and the backing, in votes, in service, or in money, without which support the best of leadership cannot make itself felt.

My friend William H. Baldwin would, as those who knew him have felt confident, if years had been spared to him, have come to be a leader of national reputation. He was in fact able in the short life that had been allotted to him (he died at the age of forty-two) to make himself felt throughout Greater New York, while his name and his example were quoted in many other communities where similar problems were being tackled.

I never knew a man who had such absolute self-abnegation, whose thought was so surely concentrated upon the work to be done, and whose selection of work was so uniformly not for the advancement of self but for the good of his fellows. Baldwin's business career was that of a railroad man and his advancement had been rapid as his successive chiefs came to appreciate his clear-headed executive capacity, his suggestiveness, his enterprise, and above all his absolute integrity of purpose and his devotion to his task. He made himself so useful, one might say so indispensable, to the companies by which he was employed and to his immediate superiors, he did so much within the official hours, that his superiors were more than ready to permit him to use not only the hours reserved for himself but certain time which technically belonged to his business, for the general service of his State. He was active in work for the education of the coloured people and was a valued associate in the direction of Tuskegee and Hampton. He had taken part in a number of the organizations which were watching over the problems of the big city and were trying to do something to organize a better system of government. He had given practical co-operation in furthering the principles and the practices of the

Civil Service Reform Association and was able, when president of the Long Island Railroad, to present an example of a great business conducted on the basis of an intelligent civil service.

Almost his last public work was given as chairman of the Committee of Fifteen; this committee was organized as the result of an initiative in the Chamber of Commerce for the investigation of vice problems in the city of New York, and more particularly to trace the relation, and to stamp out the relation, between the police officials with the Tammany organization behind them and the concerns that were utilizing vice as a commercial possibility. To the work of this committee Baldwin devoted during the space of two years all the hours that could be spared from his railroad duties and that were not already assigned to other tasks for the public service. The Pennsylvania Railroad Company, which had recently come into possession of the Long Island road, had at the time important construction work in train in Brooklyn and was just beginning the great operations which resulted in the Hudson River tube and the Seventh Avenue Station in Manhattan. It was, therefore, at many points exposed to attacks or "strikes" from city officials on both sides of the river and from the men behind to whom these officials owed their posts. Indignation arose in Tammany Hall at the attempts of the Committee of Fifteen, under the incisive leadership of Baldwin, to cut off certain valuable sources of revenue, supplies of money secured under the Tammany policy of selling the right to break the law, moneys that came from bad houses, pool-rooms, drinking saloons, and gambling hells of one kind or another, and the powers in charge of the city sent word to the Pennsylvania managers that the operations of the road, and particularly the construction undertakings on both sides of the East River, would be seriously hampered unless

they called off from his impertinent undertakings their man Baldwin.

Baldwin was called to Philadelphia to report to the board of directors, or to some committee of the board, in regard to the operations of the Committee of Fifteen. He told them frankly what we had already accomplished and what we were trying to do. He admitted that our operations were of necessity annoying, and that he hoped they would become disastrous, to the policy and to the treasury of Tammany Hall. He admitted further that the Tammany officials were in a position to cause interference to the development of the business of the Pennsylvania and Long Island roads. He pointed out, however, that if the great corporation began to purchase immunity from interference from the Tammany leaders, there would be no end to the development of the claims of Tammany. He admitted the risks and the difficulties of the fight, but he claimed that such fight had got to come sometime and that he believed it would be for the interest of the road to have it come at once and have the matter settled. "Sooner or later," he said, "the people of New York will not be willing to permit the transportation facilities of which the city is so much in need to be blocked through the greed of the Tammany gang or by the malfeasance of the city officials. Admitting finally that there might in his case be a question of divided duty, Baldwin placed his resignation in the hands of the directors. He went back to New York without securing their decision. The problem was perplexing and needed to be thought over, but within forty-eight hours he received word that his course was approved by the board; that they could trust his discretion and that they had confidence that whatever his zeal for his volunteer work in the committee, he would never be recreant to his obligations to the company. The company decided with him that it was as well to have the

questions with the blackmailers brought to a prompt issue. They had many millions at stake, but the interest of the city was even larger than that of the railroad. The inner history of the great construction operations of the railroad is of course not a matter of public record. It is my own belief, however, from word that has come to me from people claiming to know, that the company did succeed in completing its construction without the payment of any blackmail whatever and that, in so doing, it made an invaluable precedent for any later operations of other companies.

The investigations of the Committee of Fifteen were useful not only in putting before the public a fuller knowledge of what had before been vaguely understood, of the infamous traffic carried on by city officials in the protection of vice, but in stamping out definitely, at least for the time, certain of the more serious of the abominations that were being described. Such work must of course be done over again from decade to decade, and we may have confidence that men like Baldwin will be found to accept the leadership.

Shortly after Baldwin's death a meeting was held in Cooper Union to commemorate his service and to emphasize the inspiration that such a life should have for others. The great hall was filled, the audience comprising not only hundreds of leading citizens who had been called upon by Baldwin for co-operation and who had knowledge of what he had accomplished, but thousands of others of the classes that he had striven to benefit. The addresses delivered (it was my privilege to be one of the speakers) and the sympathetic interest of this great audience constituted testimony to the importance of the life of a man who had never occupied a public station. Baldwin's efforts had been largely tentative and his work was, of necessity, left unfinished, but his character and ideals,

his unselfishness and clear-sighted standard of citizenship had been made apparent, and these were made clear, as it was the privilege of those who knew the man and his work to make them clear, for a lesson and for an inspiration for his fellow-citizens.

Roger A. Pryor. Judge Pryor's characteristic face had been familiar to me for a number of years before I had an opportunity of coming into personal relations with the man. My first word with him was as late as 1911. At that time he was eighty-six years old. He was the oldest Confederate veteran in New York and probably the oldest remaining of the men of prominence.

I recall that in his varied service in the Confederate army, he enjoyed the unique distinction of being the one soldier who, having resigned as a brigadier, enlisted, the day after his resignation was accepted, as a private. He was evidently a man of impatient temperament and he was ready to throw up his position as a brigade commander in order to emphasize his discontent with the manner in which his brigade had been ordered about and distributed. I judge that while undoubtedly a good fighter (his courage had never been questioned), he could hardly be called a good commander. It is a truism that if a man is to make his abilities as a leader serviceable, he must be prepared to accept without undue impatience even inconsistent and unreasonable orders from other commanders. In talking over with me his war experiences, the Judge recalled his feeling of indignation at being taken prisoner by one of our pickets at a time when he had in view only an exchange of papers, and was, in fact, waving a newspaper as a flag-of-truce. Such exchanges of newspapers, tobacco, and other portable articles did go on between the picket lines at various times during the war and the arrangements arrived at by mutual understanding were, with hardly an exception, carried out in good faith. Our

own commanders had reason, however, to be critical from time to time of a practice of exchanges which placed in the hands of the Rebel leaders late issues of Washington and New York papers many of which contained information or plausible guesses as to the movements of our troops or the plans of the Administration. The news printed in the Richmond papers was so closely supervised by the authorities that the information obtainable from these was comparatively unimportant. In December, 1864, at the time of the capture of Pryor, who was then a sergeant of cavalry, General Meade had given orders that no further exchanges or confabs between the picket lines should be permitted. Pryor had, of course, no knowledge of these orders and he claimed, and with justice, that the previous general understanding ought to have been carried out in his case. It happened, however, that a few weeks before Pryor's capture by our men, Captain Henry S. Burrage of a Massachusetts regiment had been taken prisoner in precisely the same manner at a point a little farther along the line. Burrage was in prison with me during the last winter of the war and I heard from him in 1864 the same kind of growl at the lack of decent fairness on the part of the Confederate commander that came to me forty-odd years later from Judge Pryor.

The Judge told me that he had a narrow escape from being hanged as a spy, not because of any action when he was captured in proper butternut uniform, but because of previous operations. His old home had been in the Chickahominy region and he was, of course, quite familiar with the country. He had utilized this familiarity during the earlier years of the war for scouting in citizen's clothes behind the Federal lines. He had, however, never before been captured and it was a nice question of war regulations whether a man taken prisoner in uniform could be held responsible for previous actions in which he had un-

doubtedly filled the mission of a spy. He was confined first in the old Capitol prison in Washington, and later in Fort Lafayette in New York harbour. He was on the list for execution, partly as I understood on the ground of his spying operations in Virginia, and partly as an offset to a hanging that was about to be committed of one of our men whose service had been more or less "double" in character, and who was held in Charleston. Pryor had, before the war, done journalistic service in Richmond and in Washington and had many friends among the Northern newspaper men. Some of these tried to interest in his behalf Secretary Stanton, but without success. Mr. Stanton took the ground that Mr. Pryor was a man "eminently fit to be hanged." They then applied, and with better success, to Lincoln. They recalled to Lincoln that Pryor, when a brigade commander, had paroled, instead of sending into Richmond, a lot of wounded men, surgeons, and nurses, that he had captured in the retreat of Pope's army from Chantilly. Pryor believed that in so doing he had undoubtedly saved the lives of a number of our soldiers who could not have stood the strain of Belle Isle or Andersonville. They also emphasized the exceptional nature of his capture. Lincoln, not for the first time in his management of affairs, overruled Stanton. He wrote on his visiting card an order to the major in command of Lafayette to release Pryor with instructions for him to report to Washington. The Judge spoke appreciatively of his treatment in Lafayette. It was evident from what he said that the food was a good deal better than what he had been receiving in Virginia either as a sergeant or as a brigadier.

After the war was over, he joined a group of enterprising Southerners who tried to get a livelihood in New York. With no money and with but the beginnings of legal training, he managed by persistent hard work, and also

by an ability that must have been exceptional, to make a place for himself among the lawyers of New York. The bottom of a profession in a great metropolis is always crowded, but there is usually room near the top. Pryor got near enough to the top to secure one of the Supreme Court judgeships, in which as I understand his years of service were in every way honourable. It stands to the credit of John Kelly and other managers of Tammany Hall that they were able to recognize the practical value to the political prestige and to the continued influence of the Tammany organization, in securing the service of the brains and the personality of some of the noteworthy Southerners who made their homes in New York after the war was over. These men from the South were Democrats by heritage and their war experiences made it natural for them to work against the Republican party even when the elections were concerned only with local matters in the city of New York. They were hardly to be criticized if under the circumstances they failed for at least many years to recognize that the Tammany organization had very little to do with Democratic principles and was, in fact, really a commercial undertaking carried on for the profit of the clever managers. Pryor, was, however, among the capable Southerners who like Lee, Mosby, Longstreet, and other war leaders took strong ground in regard to the propriety and the necessity of giving loyal support to the national government whose authority they had now accepted. Pryor himself came into sharp criticism with his old-time associates in the South by reason of a letter brought into print by him in 1867 in which he pointed out that the Confederacy was gone and that the hopes of the Southerners and the interests of their children and their grandchildren were now bound up with the success and the honour of the Republic. It was the common-sense duty of every citizen now to do

what was practicable for the prosperity of the reunited country. Sulking was undignified and unprofitable. The two volumes of Reminiscences written by Mrs. Pryor have continued value for the vivid pictures or rather sketches given of the experiences during the war of the women of Virginia, or at least of those women whose homes were in the campaign region about Richmond and Petersburg. The women of the South, through their pluck, persistency, patience, and influence, made a large contribution to the cause of the Confederacy and to the credit of the womankind of the world.

Andrew Carnegie. I have never had intimacy in the circles of *la haute finance*, but the opportunity has occasionally come to me of meeting millionaires in connection with matters outside of finance. I have had association with Mr. Carnegie in the Authors Club and in the committees of the Peace associations. It also happened several times that I found myself crossing the Atlantic in his company.

The energetic little Scotchman has certainly succeeded in making himself during the last part of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century a conspicuous figure on both sides of the Atlantic. He is in his disposition so much of a fighter that it is a little difficult to think of him as an apostle of peace; but even in the cause of peace, pugnacity, persistency, courage, and a readiness to make good use of resources are all-important. The Peace associations, while they would have possessed but little vitality if there had not been behind them public opinion or public sentiment, would of course have had much more difficulty in carrying on their propaganda work if it had not been for the liberal financial support of the millionaire Scotchman.

The record of Carnegie's career and of his services to mankind will probably have been brought before the

world in more channels than one before these Reminiscences of mine come into book shape. I will make mention here only of a couple of incidents which throw some light on Andrew's way of looking at things and on his relation to literature.

On one of the Atlantic trips on which we were fellow-passengers, we had on board an energetic woman who was going as delegate to an International Convention of the Red Cross Societies. She had listened with interest to one of the sermons on Peace with which Carnegie was favouring his fellow-passengers (and he was very much in the habit of "occupying" the deck with a sermon on one subject or another) and she concluded, naturally enough, that she had an opportunity of securing some help for the funds of her society. She approached Carnegie with some feeling of confidence and put before him with fluency if not with eloquence the purposes and needs of the Red Cross work. He broke in upon her statements rather roughly with the word:

I do not believe in your Red Cross Societies. I do not think that they are of any service to the cause of Peace. When the wicked or the foolish fellows who have been killing each other are half dead, they ought to be left to become dead or to stay dead. Your societies undertake to save these people, to restore them to strength so that they can again take weapons in their hands and continue their ravages on the surface of the earth. Let the soldiers kill each other off. I am not going to give a penny to save their lives.

The poor Red Cross lady stood abashed, but I am not sure how far Andrew's talk expressed convictions or was made simply to defend himself against attacks on his purse during what he called his off or closed season.

Later on this voyage (or possibly on some other voyage) he was talking in his usual energetic fashion which

made it impracticable for any other conversation to go on say within fifty feet, about the wasted hours given to ancient literature.

Why [he said], people who are working in this twentieth century and whose time is at best but limited should give their reading and their study to books that have to do with their own affairs. I do not myself believe that there is anything to be gained by taking up the old stuff or, in fact, by anything that has been written more than fifty years back. The people of the earlier centuries did not know and could not know what is needed by folks of today. The sympathies, interests, and I may say the prejudices, of today are so different from those of earlier years that what the old fellows wrote is neither of use nor of interest to us.

I had the impression that in these utterances as in many others, Carnegie was not fully believing what he said, but was talking somewhat for effect, or as the boys say, "through his hat" (the latter phrase could not have been used literally because it was the old gentleman's habit to walk the deck without any hat at all); but in order to draw him out a little further, I put in a modest reference to the Scriptures: "Is it not the case, Mr. Carnegie, that these writings, some of them the work of teachers of thousands of years back, have given help and inspiration and service to all the generations since?"

Not a bit [he said], that is a mere fetish and superstition. Each generation ought to produce and does produce its own teachers. Each generation receives its own inspiration. There is no reason why the Divine Powers should select one century rather than another, or one group of men rather than another, as channels for the inspiration of living men. And as for the Old Testament writers, they are very much overrated. Why, sir, there is not a prophet, neither a minor

prophet nor a major prophet, whom I would introduce to Mrs. Carnegie!

A college professor, travelling on his sabbatical, suggested in his turn that there was something to be found in the way of intellectual development and inspiration in the Greek and Latin classics.

Not a bit of it [roared Carnegie], that is all an absurdity. People work over the Latin and Greek and because they have had the labour of finding out through the difficulties of the language what the writer was saying, they convince themselves that there was value in what he said. I have looked into the classics. I gave some weeks to them last winter, not in the originals to be sure, but in translations which gave me a good enough idea of their purpose and character. [I remembered seeing in Carnegie's library at one of the meetings of our Peace Committee a new set of the Bohn Classical Library in the English versions.] I have heard so much talk about the beauty of the classics that I thought I ought to inform myself in regard to them. There is nothing in them at all. It is clear waste of time even to take them in English, and, of course, a much larger waste to give the additional labour required to master the Latin or the Greek. If I could have my way, the college students would be obliged to give to the books of the past half century and to the books of their own language all the time that could be spared in their lives for literature. But the main thing after all for the youngsters is, of course, to learn how to make their living and to do their duty as citizens.

Edwin A. Abbey. Sometime in 1907 I came into correspondence with the artist Edwin A. Abbey—who, typical American as he was, had for some years made his home in England—in regard to a matter that might be classed as personal. Abbey had been described (he felt himself as if he had been accused) by a clever and not very scrupu-

lous journalist, Elbert Hubbard, as responsible for a family of seven or eight children. Hubbard was at the time writing a series of papers purporting to describe personal visits to noteworthy artists. He had given in the paper in question, which, first published as a pamphlet, was later to constitute a chapter in a book, a detailed and dramatic account of his visit to the country home in Gloucestershire of the famous artist. He gave a picture of the old county mansion which the artist had secured, of the charming hospitality of Mrs. Abbey, and of the grace and attractiveness of the family group comprising as he remembered seven or eight children who were disporting themselves on the lawn.

I had up to that time had no intimacy with Abbey, but I had heard more or less about the man and his work and I thought I remembered that there never had been any children. I sent the pamphlet to Abbey (at his club address in London so that it should not fall into the hands of his wife) and asked him to let me know whether it contained any statements which he preferred not to have published in the more permanent form of a book. Abbey replied promptly and with no little indignation to the effect that he had never seen the man Hubbard and that he should not have been likely to extend the hospitality of his country home to any reporter of Hubbard's kind. He confirmed my impression that there never had been any children and he begged me to do whatever might be practicable to suppress the pamphlet and to prevent this fake interview and description of the artist and his family being reprinted in book form. He said that the desire for children had been the passion of his wife and that this description of a family that never existed might bring her into a state of nervous prostration.

I brought pressure to bear upon Hubbard and secured the cancellation of the chapter in the proposed book. He

admitted, of course, that he had never made the visit and had in fact never seen Abbey. He had secured some description of Abbey's country home and he thought that the beautiful English lawn would look "kind of empty" without children and therefore he had put the children into his picture. "A man ought not get annoyed," said Hubbard, "at a little thing like that; particularly when I took such pains to crack up his art." Abbey needed at that time no "cracking up" from any critics and particularly from irresponsible writers like Hubbard. He was at the zenith of a well-earned fame.

His gratitude for my little service in heading off the continued publication of this troublesome paper caused him to give me a cordial invitation to the same country home and the following summer I had a charming visit with him in Gloucestershire. The home had all the attractions that Hubbard could have described if he had seen them, less only the group of children. Abbey was at that time completing the beautiful series of designs for the state-house at Harrisburg. These paintings, executed on an heroic scale, showed what the imagination of the artist was capable of. He had been able so to idealize the great industries of Pennnsylvania, the production of iron, petroleum, etc., as to give a vision of great forces shaping the resources of the community for the welfare of the State and of mankind. Abbey died too young and before his great conceptions had found place on the walls of the Pennsylvania state-house.

Joseph H. Choate. I have had many opportunities during the past half-century of securing personal impressions of the brilliant New England New Yorker whose characteristic personality has made itself felt at the Bar, in diplomacy, as a leader in citizens' movements, and as expressing a charming and characteristic type of American manhood. I suppose that during the last twenty

years of his active work at the Bar, Mr. Choate was recognized as holding the first place among barristers. I have been told that he was not to be classed as a great jurist, although his successful management of the all-important Income Tax case, in which he won out in the Supreme Court against such a jurist as James C. Carter, gave ground for such a claim. But for the presentation of a case before a jury, for the management of witnesses, in the shaping of his argument, and in a graceful and incisive humour which, while adding charm to the utterance, was never permitted to confuse the clear statement of the main issues, Choate stood easily first among the forensic speakers of his generation. In the faculty for lighting up a clear-cut and weighty argument with flashes of humour, Joseph Choate was a legitimate successor of his uncle, Rufus.

I recall one case in which Choate served as barrister and with which I happened to have personal association. During the long fight for the establishment of international copyright, the *Evening Post*, under the leadership of E. L. Godkin and of Horace White, had taken a strong stand in behalf of the abolishing of American literary piracy. We had found the leaders of the *Post*, leaders largely written by Godkin, valuable ammunition with certain classes of legislators and other citizens whose opinions it was necessary to influence. It may be admitted, also, that as a result of the antagonism felt in many circles for the *Post* and for its senior editor, certain people having no direct knowledge of the subject and no particular interest in authors, in publishers, or in the literary needs of the country, were ready to be biassed against the copyright movement simply because it was being supported by Godkin and the *Post*. With a full measure of public spirit, with enormous knowledge of the matters discussed, with exceptional force and power of presentation, and with

a keen and sometimes malicious humour, Godkin was sure of securing readers for what he wrote; but he probably made but few converts even when, as was certainly true in the majority of cases, his conclusions were absolutely right, that is to say, were in line with the higher interests of the community. He had a real Irish faculty for arousing needless antagonism; but his utterances were often too bitter to be naturally Hibernian. In his articles on copyright, he had given more space to animadversion on the "pirates" than was allotted to the approval of the measures of those who were fighting for a civilized view of literary property.

Among the publishers who at that time thought it to their interest to oppose international copyright, the Reverend Isaac K. Funk was prominent. Dr. Funk was a leader among the Methodists and had also given years of labour to the cause of what he called Temperance, but which meant for his party total abstinence for themselves and Prohibition for their neighbours. In the later years of his life, he became prominent also among the Spiritualists. His earlier business undertakings after he left the active work of the ministry were unsuccessful; but with pluck and persistency, he made a second attempt, securing credit in place of the capital that had been lost, and he built up, under the firm name of Funk & Wagnalls, a publishing concern which is at this time one with assured foundations and whose undertakings are of world-wide importance.

Godkin had thought it in order to use the publishing operations of Funk, a doctor of divinity engaged in business, as a typical example of bad, that is to say, of piratical methods. Funk's patience finally became exhausted. He did not see why among all the publishers who preferred the "scramble" method of publishing to an international copyright system he, above all others, should be picked

out and stigmatized as the "pirate." He finally brought suit for libellous defamation of character, not against the *Evening Post* as a corporation, but against Godkin personally. He complained not of injury to his firm but of personal annoyance and loss to himself. It is my memory that the suit came to trial in 1892 or 1893, a year or more after the enactment of our copyright bill. The leading counsel in behalf of Funk was Colonel James, a clever lawyer who had had a creditable record in the Civil War. James's difficulty, a difficulty that was the more serious in contending against an advocate like Choate, was the lack of any sense of humour.

Choate had not interested himself in the copyright contest and, as he said frankly to me, had no first-hand knowledge of the nature of the issues involved. A little while before the day fixed for the trial, he invited me to lunch with him, and as at the end of the hour he had not finished his pumping process, the lunch was repeated. I was interested and amused at the power the man had of absorbing information. In the course of the two hours he stored away in his big head the outlines of the history of the evolution of literary property and of the series of steps taken on both sides of the Atlantic to secure a world-wide recognition of the rights of authors. He also got into his memory (and a fact once taken hold of seemed never to be lost) the record of the men who had been the leaders on the two sides of the contest; and finally he took note of certain details that I was able to secure for him of Funk's early publishing operations. I was impressed with the clever manner in which he utilized in court the material thus collected. I would not say that any of the statements made in his two addresses were not in substance correct, but I do recall that I found myself very much impressed with the size of the structure that he had based upon a comparatively small series of facts and in-

cidents, and with the glowing eloquence with which he was able to emphasize a few bald statements that I had placed before him.

He placed me on the stand as a witness having expert knowledge of the copyright matters in question and he drew out by clever questioning the record of the fight and of the purposes and details which had actuated the fighters. He succeeded in getting before the court a satisfactory impression of the kind of work that our copyright league had been carrying on for the maintenance of the good name of the nation and for the development of the interests of literature.

When Colonel James came to his cross-examination, I got the impression that, experienced lawyer as he was, the history of literary property was to him probably a new subject which he had been reading up only recently. In my direct examination I had made reference to two famous cases going back to 1768 and 1774 by which the status of the copyright law of Great Britain had been finally fixed, and I had referred by name to the leaders of that day who were maintaining, and to those who were opposed to, the interests of literary producers. James went at me in regard to Lord Mansfield. "Are you not aware, Mr. Putnam, that Lord Mansfield, in the case of Millar *vs.* Taylor, gave his opinion in favour of the defendant?" "You are in error, sir, in that impression. Lord Mansfield is on record as maintaining that Millar's claim to the control of Thomson's *Seasons* should be maintained under the common law." "Do you not know, sir, that when the second case came up—the name has for the moment escaped me—" (I gave him the title: Beckett *vs.* Donaldson, and the jury showed amusement at seeing a leading lawyer prompted on a matter of law history by a lay witness)—"Lord Mansfield reversed his previous opinion and gave his vote for a verdict against copyright at

common law?" "You are mistaken, sir," I rejoined. "Lord Mansfield, while having, of course, the right as one of the law Lords to take part in this case, declined to sit because he had as judge in the court below already passed upon it. If Lord Mansfield's vote had been given, as it would have been given, in behalf of the plaintiff in error, the court would have stood six to six and the rights of authors under the common law would not have been held to be abrogated by the statute of 1710." "That is all, Mr. Putnam," said James. "You can step down." I understood that it had been the Colonel's intention to put me through an examination in regard to the piratical practices of the earlier Harpers and of certain other leading publishers, in order to sustain Funk's contention that he was but one of a group and that he ought not to have been picked out for special abuse. I should have been sorry to be called upon to tell what I knew about the "appropriations" of the first group of Harpers. My evidence would certainly have strengthened the contention of Funk that he was not the only "pirate," in fact, that, speaking comparatively, he was a very modest pirate. Fortunately, the annoyance of James at being tripped up in a detail of copyright history decided him to bring my testimony to a close.

Choate, who had, as he frankly told me, no more direct memory than his opponent possessed of the famous case of Millar *vs.* Taylor, was delighted at my having been able to score off the counsel on the other side, and gave me cordial congratulations.

Choate's cross-examination of Funk was a model in its way and was very typical of the Choate method. He handled the witness with exceptional gentleness and even deference. He brought out through a series of well-directed questions the fact that Dr. Funk had, after leaving active work in the ministry, been called upon from time

to time for special service in the pulpit and at various functions. The witness also admitted under question, and with some natural satisfaction concerning the appreciation given to him by his fellow-men, that he had been more than once the nominee of the Prohibition party for Congress and twice as candidate for governor. "And for president?" enquired Choate, pursuing the political record. "No," said Funk. "Not yet," said Choate, "but that will undoubtedly come a little later." It was made evident through these replies of the not unwilling witness that honours and compliments of one kind or another had come to him continuously and even increasingly during the two years in which had been brought into print in the *Post* the editorials complained of. "Now," said Mr. Choate, closing his gracefully worded questions, "now, sir, will you please make clear to the court, to his Honour, and to the gentlemen of the jury, just in what manner your character and your relations with your friends and with your associates and with the public at large have suffered injury from the so-called brutal attacks from my client?" The question was incisive and the witness had no reply. His largest political successes and the fullest measure of recognition from the great body of his fellow Methodists had come to him while Godkin was characterizing him as a Methodist pirate. It was evident that whatever influence Godkin might have over the opinions of certain portions of the public, those groups with which Funk had to do had been affected not at all by Godkin's attack. I remember one characteristic utterance in Choate's summing up:

> The plaintiff, gentlemen, is a doctor of divinity and we have it from his own evidence that he is a much honoured doctor of divinity. I am not myself a doctor of divinity, and at the late time of life that I have reached and in connection with

what my friends are pleased to describe as my general frivolity of conduct, I may never hope to achieve that distinction. I cannot tell, therefore, just how a doctor of divinity feels; but to me, an outsider and a layman, there is something incongruous in the idea of a doctor of divinity going into business for gain and beginning his operations by stealing the Life of his Saviour.

This peroration was based upon a word that I had given to Choate that one of the earlier publications of Dr. Funk's firm was an unauthorized reprint of Farrar's *Life of Christ*, for the authorization to produce which book the Duttons had paid the author a substantial sum.

Choate had, as he told me, not thought it possible to prevent a verdict being given for the plaintiff. The abuse had certainly come into print and it was individual abuse in itself not quite fair nor properly proportioned. He had, however, thought that the damages might be made so nominal as to give Godkin a virtual success. He and his client, were, therefore, agreeably disappointed when the jury brought in a verdict for the defendant, leaving the full responsibility for costs with the plaintiff. The "stealing of the life of his Saviour" had evidently been considered by the jury as fairly conclusive "piracy."

Of one other incident of a very different character in Choate's career I happened to have personal knowledge. During his very successful service as Ambassador in London, he was invited to be the guest of the Jurists Club in Oxford, a club which contained at the time such well-known scholars in jurisprudence as Sir William Anson, Professor Goudy, Edward Dicey, Professor Phelps, and others. Some friend of mine among the jurists honoured me with an invitation to the dinner and I was, I think, the only layman present.

A paper was read, probably by Phelps, having to do with some abstruse issue in Roman law. I have a vague

memory that Trebonius and Gaius were mentioned as being on opposite sides of the original contest. The president, Anson, then turned to Choate: "Your Excellency," he said, "we shall be delighted to hear your views of the conclusions presented in this paper." Choate answered with full honesty and naïveté: "Sir William, I must admit at once that I have no knowledge of Roman law. The points presented in this scholarly paper, to which I have listened with great interest, are not such as occur in the procedure of the New York Bar." The paper was analyzed by Goudy and others, and at the close of the fixed discussion, Choate gave, at the request of the president, an illuminating and charmingly presented talk on certain of the differences between the legal procedure of that day in the United States (and more particularly in New York and in the Supreme Court in Washington) as compared with procedure in Great Britain.

One or two members of the Club were old-time acquaintances who had known me for a series of years. I could not but be amused, therefore, that I should have gone up in their estimation because his Excellency, my own Ambassador, had, as he first met me in the evening, addressed me as "Putnam" and greeted me with both hands.

Mr. Choate succeeded John Bigelow as president of the Century Club, and in this year, 1915, he is presiding over the meetings of the Club with his accustomed grace, humour, and control of the situation that are in no way impaired under the pressure of the eighty-five years that he has left behind him.

One of the Twelfth Night celebrations at the Club was held just after Mr. Choate had been appointed Ambassador to the Court of St. James, but before he had taken his departure. His dignity as Ambassador did not stand in the way of his acceptance of what he called the equally honourable post of Lord of the Kingdom of Misrule who

had charge of the operations of our Twelfth Night celebration. I remember at midnight seeing the newly appointed Ambassador to London and the Governor-elect of the State of New York (Theodore Roosevelt) waltzing slowly around the room together, the Governor singing "Annie Rooney" and the Ambassador whistling, with gentle harmony and with proper deference to the monarch to whom he was accredited, "God Save the Queen."

Our genial Ambassador, on returning from his responsibilities in England, gave to his fellow-Centurions in a charmingly presented address an illuminating picture or analysis of conditions in Great Britain, or at least of the conditions with which he had come into more immediate relations. There was, of course, no breach of diplomatic discretion, but the members of the Club who had not before known their England felt as if a great light had been thrown upon a complex and interesting matter.

Theodore Roosevelt. It must have been in 1884 that I first came into personal relations with Theodore Roosevelt. His father, Theodore the first, had been a pupil in John MacMullen's school a year or two before the time of my own work in the school, and I knew him pleasantly as one of the public-spirited citizens of New York. Theodore the second had taken a portion of his course (I think two years) in Harvard when he was ordered by the family doctor to stop college work and to take a long sojourn somewhere in the open air. He was, I believe, threatened with lung trouble and was in any case as a boy something of a weakling. His father sent him out to South Dakota where he had a year or more's experience as a ranchman, learning to ride and to shoot (and his riding and shooting became afterwards famous), broadening out his chest and strengthening his vitality by life in the open air. He thoroughly enjoyed the experience and if he had not been tempted in other directions, he always affirmed that he

would have been perfectly satisfied with life as a cowboy, a ranchman, and a hunter. He came back to Harvard to finish his course and then, after another sojourn in the West, at which time his father permitted him to invest in the purchase of a cattle ranch, he returned to New York for the purpose of entering into business. He came into the office with the word that he had some literary ambitions, and that he would like to try the experiment of being a publisher. I replied that literary ambitions and publishing undertakings did not necessarily belong together and not infrequently, in fact, proved to be incompatible with each other. I found myself, however, at once interested in the exuberant vitality and wide suggestiveness of the young man, who even at that date and with a comparatively limited experience of the world, was full of opinions strongly held and emphatically uttered. I was glad on more grounds than one to secure his association with our concern. We were at the time paying off a special partner who wanted to take up ranching in California and it was a convenience to accept in his place a successor with a little larger investment. The connection was made in the form of a special or limited partnership, but Theodore had a desk placed in the office, and as his home was in the immediate neighbourhood of the business (we were at that time established in Twenty-third Street) he found it convenient to be on hand for a large portion of the office hours. He promptly developed a full measure of original theories for the running of a publishing business, theories which were always interesting but which in most cases did not appear to be practicable or promising of good results under the existing conditions. However emphatic Theodore might be in presenting a plan or a piece of counsel, he accepted always good-naturedly enough an adverse judgment, and a day or two later would have in readiness a fresh bunch of schemes

and suggestions. I became very fond of the man although there were times when the prolific suggestions, the exuberance of utterance, and the cockiness of opinion came to be fatiguing.

He had been with us about a year when an opportunity occurred for diverting his energies from the Twenty-third Street office to the field of politics. The Republican committee of the Assembly District in which were placed both Roosevelt's house and my office, was looking for a candidate for the Assembly. I knew better than my young associate the men on the committee and I was very glad either to suggest to them or to confirm their earlier suggestion (at this time I am not sure which way the matter first came up) that Theodore would be a good man for their purpose. He was a Republican of a well-known and much honoured New York family. He had sufficient financial backing for the requirements and he had plenty of energy, ambition, and self-confidence. The district was safely Republican and Theodore was elected without any difficulty, and then during the sessions of the Legislature I had, for five days of the week, a comparatively quiet time in the office. On Saturdays, Theodore would return to his publishing desk with a fresh batch of publishing suggestions intermingled with a flood of reminiscences of things done in the capital, criticisms of his opponents and his associates, and theories as to the best method of running the State of New York.

He succeeded in doing what is, I understand, very rarely done in our State Assembly; he made himself listened to during his first term of service, and before many months he had gathered about him a little group or small party which carried sufficient power to exert a material influence on legislation affecting the city of New York. Roosevelt's name came to be known, and favourably known, not only in the city that he was representing with full public spirit

and effectiveness, but throughout the State. He was fairly launched on a political career that came to have in the near future a much larger importance than was at that time anticipated even by his most loyal and most confident friends. I am inclined myself to the belief, however, that to Roosevelt himself the career was by no means unexpected. I believe (although I admit I have no utterance from him as foundation for my belief) that from the very beginning of his political work he kept before him the idea of becoming President, and he had the large measure of self-confidence which is one of the most essential factors towards political success. This self-confidence, an admirable quality in itself, needs, however, in order not to interfere with a good development of character and with the foundations of judgment, to be kept in control. An exuberance of assured opinions is natural enough in a man of a certain temperament and at an age which may still be classed as sophomoric. As a man grows older and his responsibilities increase, he ought, in order to maintain a wise relation with his fellow-men, to keep his self-confidence under lock and key, so to speak, bringing it to the open only at critical moments. The difficulty which has certainly stood in the way of the largest effectiveness of this promising and public-spirited citizen, has been that, during the years of his political success and of his increasing responsibilities, not only the self-confidence itself but the readiness for its expression have grown upon him. As he has grown older, he has seemed to be less instead of more ready to be receptive to the suggestions of his fellow-workers or to the securing of careful and well-considered information in advance of the forming and the expression of a final opinion. At this time of writing (1911) my friend is a man past middle life. He has had a distinguished career and has rendered great service to his country. He is a typical American and

very nearly a great American. The possibilities of assured greatness have however been lessened and the importance of the place he will hold in his own country and in the world has been diminished by what some of us believe to have been serious errors of judgment and by a lack of readiness to accept suggestions or to learn by experience. At this time, my friend is, so to speak, in retreat. He is undoubtedly, like Cincinnatus, ready to be called from "the plough" of Oyster Bay, or from literary work, to further honours. It is my present impression that the chances are against a renewal on the part of the voters of the country of confidence in this particular leader. I shall be interested, if the time is given to me, in verifying this impression.

In the twenty-fourth year of his life, Theodore became a publisher, went to the Assembly, married a wife,—a very charming woman,—and wrote a volume of historical research which at this date (twenty-seven years later) is still an authority on the subject. The wife was Miss Alice Lee, a representative of a well-known Boston family one branch of which had migrated to New York. The book was the history of the Naval War of 1812. It presented the first comprehensive record, from an American point of view, of this interesting and important episode in the history of the country. Theodore was able to correct a long series of erroneous statements on the part of the British historian James, and of other naval writers, which had before been accepted as final.

After his term as an Assemblyman was over, Theodore did good work in the executive committee of the Civil Service Reform Association and was in this way brought into association with such leaders of the older generation as Curtis, Schurz, Eaton, Horace White, Barlow, and others. These older men came to have a cordial regard for their energetic young associate and their influence proved of

value in furthering Roosevelt's desire for continued public service. He was made one of the Civil Service commissioners who were charged with the work of carrying into effect the provisions of the still new Civil Service system and of enforcing its regulations. Roosevelt was the youngest of the commissioners but his energy and activity soon gave him for all practical purposes the responsibilities of chairman. I remember one example among many of his methods of work as a commissioner. At one of the sessions of the executive committee of our Civil Service Reform Association, Theodore came in late in the evening fresh from Washington. He shut the door and looking about the room, said to the chairman (Curtis): "I suppose, Mr. Chairman, we adhere to the routine of having no reporters present." "There are no reporters," said Curtis, "and I think our editorial friends [Godkin and Horace White] can be trusted as to discretion." "Then," said Theodore, with solemn emphasis, "damn John Wanamaker!" He went on to explain that he had come from Washington mainly in order to have the satisfaction of uttering that "damn" in a sympathetic circle. He explained further that Wanamaker, at that time Postmaster-General, was doing all that he could (and his facilities were many) for the undermining and nullifying of the Civil Service law. The reports made direct to the Postmaster-General of infringements of the law by employees of his department had secured no attention. He had dismissed the charges with the word that they were "based upon second-hand evidence." The copies of the charges had then been sent by Roosevelt to the President (Harrison) by whom they had been safely pigeonholed. Theodore had finally, under appointment with Charles Bonaparte of Baltimore (an active member of our association), gone to Baltimore and had attended, under guidance from sympathetic Baltimore citizens, certain primary

meetings. At these meetings, he had found post-office employees collecting assessments and carrying on the official business of their party organizations. By the aid of his Baltimore friends, he was able, in some cases at least, to get the names of these delinquent officials. Returning to Washington, he gave sworn testimony as a witness before himself as a commissioner and then sent the certified statement to the Postmaster-General with the word that this *was* "first-hand evidence." He secured neither response nor attention of any kind. The document was submitted to the President, with the same lack of result. Roosevelt then came to New York to let out his "damn" and to ask for counsel. He wanted to get this evidence in some fashion before the public and he was puzzled how to bring into publication a document which for the moment was in the shape of an official report to the President. Schurz advised him to call a meeting of the Civil Service committee of the House and to ask an opportunity of being confronted at the committee meeting with the Postmaster-General. If Wanamaker should decline to attend, Roosevelt could, under questions from the chairman of the committee, bring again into record his experience in Baltimore. The committee could print this examination as an official report and our executive committee could then make general distribution of the same. That course was adopted. Wanamaker sent word to the chairman of the House committee in reply to the summons that he would be ready to attend any meeting at which Mr. Roosevelt was not to be present. Roosevelt then came, and, with the necessary information in advance, the chairman was able by questions to get Roosevelt's evidence into an official document, and of that document the executive committee of the Civil Service Reform Association circulated a good many thousand copies, much to the dissatisfaction of Mr. Harrison and Mr. Wanamaker.

Theodore's next responsibility was as commissioner of police in the city of New York. In many ways he made a good commissioner. The roundsmen spoke of him as being "very much on the job." He was likely to turn up at odd hours of the night in any station house or in any beat in the city. Inspectors, captains, sergeants, and roundsmen never knew when they might not come into contact with their chief. Roosevelt insisted upon the absolute enforcement of certain strenuous laws at that time on the statute book which controlled gambling, pool-rooms, bad houses, and the sale of liquor. Such general and consistent enforcement of the law interfered with the Tammany system of selling exemptions. It also aroused a large amount of dissatisfaction on the part of many citizens, Germans and others, who were indignant at what seemed to them very unnecessary interference with their liberty of action in drinking beer, etc. The fault was, of course, not with the police commissioner but with the law. But voters are not discriminating and at the next municipal election, all the anti-Tammany candidates, Republican, Citizens', etc., were defeated. Tammany resumed full control of the police and the strenuous statutes were again administered in a manner that was more comfortable for the body of citizens and more profitable for Tammany.

Then came with the Spanish War the opportunity which I happened to know had long been yearned for, but which Theodore feared was not going to come in his lifetime. He was a born fighter, and excepting for a certain tendency to insubordination, he had the making of a first-rate soldier. The outbreak of the Spanish War found him busy as Assistant-Secretary in reorganizing the little navy, in which work he did excellent service. Office work, however, did not afford a sufficient satisfaction for his energies. It was essential that he should get

to the front and, as we know, he succeeded in making in the few brief skirmishes of the campaign a reputation for himself, as Colonel of the Rough Riders, as a soldier who feared nothing, not even his superior officers. The glory secured in Cuba was sufficient to bring to him nomination and election as Governor and in this position also he rendered first-rate service and his reputation widened throughout the country. The nomination for Vice-President was forced upon him very much against his will. He was ambitious to be a political leader and he had many of the qualifications for leadership. He knew enough, however, of political history to recall how few Vice-Presidents had been able to continue in leadership or had ever secured promotion to the higher post. Roosevelt considered himself to be shelved and practically out of the political running.

I remember a visit to my office, a few months before the death of President McKinley, in which Roosevelt spoke quite gloomily about his future prospects. "I am done for," he said, "in politics, and I am afraid it will be difficult for me now to get ahead promptly enough in the practice of the law." He had given some years' work to reading for the Bar, but had not even completed the course. "I do not see any alternative," he said, "but to go on with my work for the Bar. I am, therefore, now reading hard at law. I shall be obliged, I fear, to give up my literary work." He had made a good success with certain historical volumes on *The Winning of the West*, as also with his hunting experiences. The history he had intended to continue to the close of the Mexican War. I reassured my friend with the word that he had now become well-known and even emphasized as an executive of good effectiveness. It was my belief that when he got through with his term of Vice-President, he would find plenty of openings available with sufficient salary attached. He pos-

sessed a certain income from his inheritance, but not enough for the needs of his family. He went away somewhat reassured and began work again on his history. A few months later, through the assassination of McKinley, he began his term of service as President which continued for seven years.

I saw him from time to time in the White House and found my personal relations with him as cordial as ever, although I was obliged to admit, as I told him frankly, that I was increasingly out of accord with the party of which he was leader and with not a few of his own actions and utterances. It was his habit to address me by my first name whatever might be the company present; I was myself, of course, always careful to preserve official respect excepting when we were alone.

I remember on the occasion of a lunch at the White House when there were twenty or thirty people present, he called to me across the length of the table (I was sitting by Mrs. Roosevelt): "I do not see, Haven, how I am going to finish that history of ours. You see I am very busy just now."

I was present some time later at another and smaller lunch party at which the principal guest was an old Confederate General of Tennessee. He was introduced to the President by Mr. Bate, the senior Senator from the State. Roosevelt fully realizes the responsibility of a host, and in deference to these two guests, he turned the conversation to the history of Tennessee and upon the achievements of the great citizens that the State had produced. He said (and with truth) that he had been interested in making a special study of the early history of the State, the development of the settlements from which the States of Tennessee and Kentucky were constituted, and the record of the short-lived State of Franklin, which was organized from territory that was afterwards divided

between these two States. This record of Franklin forms an interesting chapter in Roosevelt's *Winning of the West.* This work and the previous volume on *The Naval War of 1812* give evidence of real ability as an historian. Notwithstanding the impatience of his temperament, Roosevelt had shown that he could be a thorough investigator and the narrative of the growth of the middle West is presented with good historic proportion and in excellent, and even dramatic, literary form. At the lunch in question, Roosevelt spoke with special admiration of Andrew Jackson.

There [he said] was an executive who realized not only the responsibilities but the opportunities of the office. Thoroughly devoted to the interests of the people who had placed him in power and conscious of his own rectitude of purpose, he was ready, in the case of any action which seemed important for the public welfare, to override technical hindrances. There was doubtless to him a special pleasure even in using his will power with a certain autocracy to cut any red tape that stood in the way of executive action exerted on behalf of the interests of the nation. Jackson was able to make clear to the people that in many classes of issues, they could trust to the executive as their best representative. Jackson [the President went on to say] had his faults, the faults of his temperament. With this consciousness of high ideals and uprightness of purpose, he was disposed to conclude (sometimes hastily and even bitterly) that the man who disagreed with Jackson must be either a knave or a fool.

It was easy in listening to Roosevelt's eulogy of Jackson to feel that he was speaking of his own ideals and in defence of certain executive red-tape cutting actions, some of which had already taken shape while others (like the Panama business) were in the near future. I thought I had been fairly successful in maintaining self-control, but Theodore, who was familiar with my face, caught in my expression some phase of repressed amusement. He

broke at once across the table with the word, "Now, Haven, I hear you chuckling. I know what you are thinking about." The group of guests broke out into laughter which showed that the thought that had been in my mind had struck every man at the table. I do not believe, however, that Theodore was particularly troubled at our amusement. He was quite prepared to be laughed at a little as the successor of the self-willed and impatient Jackson, if he could only have his own way as thoroughly and could secure as large a measure of public approval as had been given to the President who sat down so effectively on nullification.

During the last year of Roosevelt's Presidency, I had occasion to make a personal appeal to him in connection with the gubernatorial campaign in the State of New York. Hughes had completed a successful first term as Governor, and in the ordinary routine of State politics and of party management, he was entitled to secure, and was expecting to secure, a renomination. He had, however, given serious offence to the political managers of the Republican party in the State, and these managers had arrived at the conclusion that, notwithstanding certain political disadvantage in failing to approve for a second term a candidate who had been their own selection two years earlier, Hughes must be put to one side and replaced by some Governor who was more ready to listen to the recommendations of Woodruff of Brooklyn, Barnes of Albany, and Ward of Westchester; and above all things to find satisfactory salaried places for the henchmen of these leaders. The political conditions were complicated by the fact that 1908 was the year of a presidential campaign. It was of first importance, not only for the Republican party but for the nation as a whole, that Mr. Taft, who had been selected (at the instance of Roosevelt himself) as Roosevelt's successor, should without question

achieve victory over the demagogue Bryan who had for a third time forced himself into the running as the Democratic candidate. The State of New York was absolutely essential for Taft's success, and if the gubernatorial candidate were weak or there were any serious division in the Republican backing given to him, the success of the national ticket might be seriously imperilled. Democrat as I was, I was strongly in favour of the election of Taft. Much as I disapproved of the management of the Republican party, I had a still stronger dislike and distrust for the purposes and methods of Bryan and his associates. As long as the Democratic leaders were foolish enough to keep Bryan in the front, Democrats like myself who believed in the payment of 100 cents on the dollar for national as for individual obligations, were obliged to support the Republican ticket.

It was my feeling that Governor Hughes, who had rendered first-rate service to the State, was entitled to renomination. It was my belief that if this renomination were denied to him by the political hacks who were at the time in control of the party machinery, the independent voters would give their support in mass to the Democratic candidate. There was always the risk also that disgust with the management of State politics would influence the voting for the national ticket.

I had no authority to speak as a representative of the independent voters, but I knew a good deal about them, and I knew that they held the balance of power in the State of New York. It was my belief that an expression of opinion from the President might result in deciding the convention to nominate Hughes even against the will of the party leaders. I understood that P., the chairman of the New York County Committee, was working quietly against the nomination of Hughes but had avoided placing himself on record until he could feel assured that

Hughes could be defeated. I thought that a word from Roosevelt would probably induce P. to change. I therefore wrote to the President, who was during these September weeks taking his vacation at Oyster Bay, asking for an interview. He gave me a prompt response, telling me to come to lunch on the day suggested. In the train to Oyster Bay, I found myself sitting behind Mr. Ward of Westchester. I concluded that the canny Roosevelt had guessed at my errand (I had said nothing about it in my note) and that he had thought it worth while to make an appointment with the Westchester leader to present the machine's view on the issue.

The proceedings took the shape of a hearing before a judge or a referee. Roosevelt asked me whether, as he thought probable, I had come with a political suggestion. In the word that I gave, I said that I was appealing to him not in his capacity as President but as a distinguished citizen and voter of the State whose influence was all important for the success of the Republican party. I emphasized the importance for the success of the party, not only in the State but in the national contest, of securing a second term for a governor who had won so full a measure of approval from the best citizens. I reminded the President that New York was a very independent State, referring to the 196,000 majority given to the Democratic Governor Cleveland on the one hand, and the 60,000 majority by which a year or two later the candidacy of the Democratic Judge Maynard had been buried. I referred to the fact that Hughes was doing yeoman's work in the West for the national ticket, and that Republicans throughout the country would be sharply criticized if the managers of New York should put to one side this all-valuable leader. I asked how the Republican convention could "point with pride" to their control of the State during the preceding two years if they were at

the same time turning down the man who was responsible for the government during that time. "Now, Mr. Ward," said the President, "what have you to say?" Ward took the ground that it was of first importance to secure not only the re-election of a Republican governor but the success of the national ticket. Secondly, that Hughes was not and could not be a popular candidate. He had with certain strenuous measures (more particularly the race-track bills and certain other anti-gambling measures) gone against the prejudices and preferences of thousands of influential citizens. He had shown himself regardless of his obligations to the party which had made him Governor and needlessly discourteous to the great leaders of this party. The Republican State leaders were the proper people to decide what candidate would best secure the approval of the voters of the party. "These reformers, the theoretical politicians," said Ward, turning to me, "never know what they are talking about."

"Have you any further word?" said Roosevelt, turning to me. "Only this, Mr. President," I replied, "the so-called practical politicians know only what their henchmen choose to tell them. The political history of this State and of the country makes clear that they have often been entirely ignorant of changes in public opinion. They do not know what the public is thinking about; above all, they never realize how impatient good citizens become at seeing the resources and the control of a great State like New York used by political leaders as if they were counters in a game of poker. The independent citizens of the group to which I belong are in direct touch with the opinions of the men by whom every election is decided. It is not the regular Republican or the regular Democrat whose vote carries the State of New York or an election in the nation. It is the in-between man, the independent voter whose vote is recorded from election to election for

the party which has, in his judgment, made the smallest number of mistakes during its term of power or whose leaders are, if not more trustworthy, at least less untrustworthy, than the others. New York State has a larger number of independent voters than any State in the Union. I am speaking to a man who has himself been an independent voter, and I think I can trust to your judgment in such a matter."

Then the President summed us up. "Mr. Ward," he said, "I am in accord with you in the belief that Mr. Hughes has shown himself regardless of party interests and of party obligations. He has doubtless been needlessly discourteous to party leaders, but," turning to me, "I believe with you, Haven, that Governor Hughes must be renominated. I believe that you are right in contending that the independents are demanding a second term for the Governor and, further, that they control the balance vote in the State. I am in accord with you in the view that the Republicans outside of New York are expecting the renomination. It is fair further to remember that the Governor is doing yeoman's service in the West for our national campaign."

"Am I authorized to quote this utterance of yours, Mr. President?" "Yes," he said, "but you must bear in mind that I am speaking not as President but simply as a voter in the State of New York."

After a few more words, the conference was adjourned for lunch, and I had the opportunity, in taking out Mrs. Roosevelt, of sympathizing with her anxieties in connection with the African expedition that was already in train. "I do not doubt," she said, "that Theodore can manage the lions, but I am afraid of the fevers." As the record showed a year later, Theodore got the better of both the lions and the fevers, and he had what he called "a bully time" during the months of his sojourn in Europe

and in connection with the prestige of his lectures in Paris, Berlin, and Oxford.

As we returned to the station, I asked Mr. Ward whether he would take the responsibility of giving to the reporters, who were waiting on the platform, his own word in regard to the utterance of the President. "No," he said rather gloomily, "we had better turn the reporters over to Mr. McBee," a journalist who had been present at the hearing but had taken no part in it. He was the editor of a well-known New York weekly and was, I think, in sympathy with my views rather than with those of Ward. At all events, he told the story correctly enough to the reporters, and the papers the next morning contained the headlines: "President Roosevelt says that Governor Hughes must be renominated."

This utterance of Roosevelt was doubtless the deciding factor in the action of the convention which met a week or two later. At the convention, P. promptly swung the delegation of New York County into line in favour of the renomination of the Governor, and later claimed for himself the credit of having brought the renomination about in the face of the opposition of the other party leaders. The State of New York proved not to be doubtful as far as the national issue was concerned; while re-electing Hughes, it gave to Taft a substantial majority over Bryan, but it was doubtless the case that the renomination of Hughes secured for the national ticket a great many thousand voters who would otherwise, in voting for a Democratic governor, have allowed their names to be counted also for the Democratic presidential electors, or who, disgusted with the machine leaders, would have gone "into the woods" without voting.

With Roosevelt's later successes, culminating in the Treaty of Portsmouth and in the enthusiastic reception given to him in England and on the Continent after the

close of his presidential term, I had little personal experience. At this time of writing (November, 1911), it is an open question whether an opportunity may be given to Roosevelt to resume political leadership and whether a majority, or any substantial proportion, of his fellow-citizens will be interested in again placing in his hands leadership and executive responsibility.

In rereading in 1915 these pages of memories and impressions of my friend, I do not find myself prepared to extend the record over the events of his career during the later four years. Theodore Roosevelt is an original and forcible character. His force lies not so much in any great intellectual originality as in his exceptional will-power, his abounding vitality, and the persistency with which he holds to a conviction, whether this has been arrived at after long-time thought and experience, or as the conclusion of the moment. He spoke of himself once as a common man raised to the nth power. I have been sorry to find myself during these later years increasingly out of accord with not a few of Roosevelt's policies and purposes. I find that in 1913 I wrote that I could not accept his conclusions in regard to the tariff reciprocity or arbitration, and that I thought his views of the relations of the courts to the community were pernicious. This divergence on political matters and in regard to questions of the day has kept us apart during the latter years. I retain, however, a hopeful confidence that the country may yet secure valuable service from a man of such exceptional capacity and power for influence, who is assuredly a patriot and who must be described as a great citizen.

CHAPTER VI

Some Japanese Friends

Commodore Matthew Perry. The Opening of Japan and its Later Relations with the United States. I remember, early in 1853, being introduced by my father to a tall naval officer who had just returned from the East. "You want to look at this gentleman with attention, Haven. He tells us that he has discovered a new nation which within the next half-century is going to make itself heard and felt in the affairs of the world." The naval officer was Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry who had just returned from his famous expedition to Japan. Perry was, I believe, the first official representative of a foreign power to secure an audience with the ruler of Japan, whose title at that time was not Mikado but Tycoon. The tact and firmness with which Perry managed his responsibilities gave to our Asiatic neighbours a favourable impression of the United States, and for the fifty years following we were, I judge, to be considered as the favoured nation in the policy of the island empire. Perry's confidence in the future of the Japanese people proved, as we all know, to be well justified by the events of the succeeding fifty years. I imagine that no nation in the history of the world has ever made so large an advance in influence, in power, in wealth, and in general range of mental development as was secured by the people of

Japan between the time when, as a result of Perry's visit, the islands were opened to the civilized world and the year in which the excellently well-organized and ably-led armies and navies of the island kingdom brought such decisive defeat upon the forces of Russia.

From the time of the Perry expedition, there had been an increasing demand in Japan for foreign literature and particularly for the literature of science and higher education. The Japanese printers had, during the later years of the century, taken full advantage of this demand for foreign books, by reproducing many of these and particularly the illustrated works in facsimile. It was their practice to wait until the publishers, chiefly Americans, had incurred the labour and expense of securing introductions for their higher class books; the books would then be reproduced by the photographic gelatine process and printed in Japan at but a trifle of the cost of the American editions, with the result that the demand came to be supplied almost entirely with the Japanese issues. The same course was taken, although to a smaller extent, with the books from England, France, and Germany.

Before the war with Russia, Japan decided, however, to become a member of the Convention of Berne. Such a decision involved a direct loss to Japanese printers and publishers, and no offsetting advantage, because there was no temptation to appropriate for readers in other States the literature of Japan. The acceptance of membership in the Convention of Berne which prevented any European books from being produced in Japan excepting under copyright arrangements, was part of the general policy of the Empire. It was considered more important to gain the esteem and goodwill of the civilized world than to leave in the hands of a group of printers the profits obtainable from piracy editions. American books were, however, still open to appropriation, and, as Secretary

of the Copyright League, I made application in 1901, through John Hay at that time Secretary of State, for the shaping of a copyright treaty between the United States and Japan. After a series of months, I received through Mr. Hay the substance of the reply that had been given to our Minister at Tokio. It was to the effect that when the United States might be prepared to accept the comity of nations and to take membership in the Convention of Berne, a separate treaty would not be necessary. This was a pretty slap in the face to be given to the great Republic of the West by an Oriental people who had themselves been "discovered" by the "civilized world" but fifty years before. The Japanese position was logical enough, but in the desire of the Mikado's government to do all that might be practicable to maintain good relations with the United States, the refusal was not persisted in, and a copyright treaty was brought into effect a year or two later. The printers and publishers of Japan were again compelled to resign a profitable business for the sake of furthering a consistent national policy.

Iwakura and Ito. In 1874, his Excellency, Prince Iwakura, passed through New York on his way from Tokio via San Francisco to his post as Ambassador in London. One member of his staff was a young nobleman, named Ito, who twenty years later was to secure international fame as a statesman and general and whose tragic death at the hands of a Korean assassin occurred as late as 1910.

Iwakura's visit to New York was limited to ten days or a fortnight. I was honoured by a call from his aide, Ito, who presented a request (naturally it was accepted as a mandate) that I should prepare for his Excellency a list of works on international law. Iwakura desired, before taking up his responsibilities in London, to master

the literature of the subject. Ito did not make it clear what previous study, if any, his Excellency had been able to give to international law, but his present requirement covered all the literature on the subject that could be secured in New York within the time of one week. I inquired whether there was any limitation as to language. "No," said Ito, "his Excellency is at home in all languages or at least in all in which there is likely to be any law literature." I put together a pretty stiff list of the authoritative works on international law, including, of course, the old standbys Grotius and Puffendorf (in Latin), a number of solid English treatises, and such French, German, and Italian works as after a diligent ransacking of the stock of the importers I had been able to discover. I waited upon his Excellency with my list. He read it over hastily and expressing his cordial appreciation of my friendly service in making up the recommendations for his library, asked me to give the necessary instructions for the delivery before the day of the sailing of his steamer, of "all the books specified." The books were delivered in due course and with the business-like precision, which we had before experienced in our relations with the Japanese officials, the treasurer of the embassy sent us from the steamer a draft on London for the amount of the account. The books themselves, properly packed for trans-Atlantic shipment, had, of course not even been seen at the time of the payment.

I was amused to read not many months later an appreciative article in the London *Spectator* on the character and attainments of the new Japanese Ambassador. The writer laid stress upon the refined nature of the Ambassador and emphasized also his high breeding, his graceful tact, and his wide understanding of European matters. Special mention was made at the close of the article of his Excellency's thorough knowledge of international

law, a knowledge which had impressed all of his diplomatic associates. I took satisfaction to myself with the feeling that part at least of the credit for this portion of the Ambassador's attainments belonged to me.

Tomati. In 1874, the Japanese Consul-General in New York was a young nobleman named Tomati with whom I came to have pleasant relations. Tomati called at the office one afternoon to make his farewell, explaining that he was about returning to Tokio. He cut short the expression of my regrets at losing him, with the word that I should see him shortly again in New York. "You see," he explained, "I am the only son of an old family. We are two sworded people and it would be a great grief to my father if the family should not continue. He has therefore ordered me to come home to be married." "Well," I said, "you will then have the interesting task of picking out a wife." "Oh no," he replied, "the wife, that is to say, the bride, is already selected. My father has taken great pains. She is the daughter of a very good family indeed, and my father says that she is the right wife for me."

I gave him my felicitations and he went off in great spirits. Not many months thereafter, he was again in the office looking as jovial and insouciant as ever. "Well," said I, "and the wife?" "The wife, she is charming. The father has done well. She is a fine person." "I am delighted," I replied, "and I hope you will permit me to pay my respects to her." He looked puzzled for a moment and then said naïvely: "I am afraid that cannot be, for the wife, she is eight thousand miles away. I am here in New York and I leave her in Tokio." And then after a moment's hesitation, "But the family will go on."

Uchida. In 1905, the Japanese Consul-General in New York was Uchida, a wideawake and well-informed man who had secured American collegiate training, I

think, at Harvard. He was elected a member of the Century Club where he formed a circle of appreciative friends. I recall being on the platform with Uchida while the Russian-Japanese War was going on, at the annual commemoration of the College of Commerce. When Uchida's turn came to speak, he had below him a group of keen-eyed Japanese students who were taking the commercial course. He began with a word about some reference that had been made by Chancellor McCracken to the assimilative qualities of his people.

Yes [he said] we have heard often that we are an imitative race and in a sense this is certainly true. We are inquiring into the methods and attainments of other peoples. We are, in fact, following the injunction of your own Scriptures: "To try all things and to hold fast to that which is good." Now [he said] that it has become necessary to organize our fighting strength, we have shaped our army on the system of Germany, and we have constructed our fleet after the model set for us by England, and [he continued with justifiable pride] our soldiers and our sailors are giving a good account of themselves. Now [he went on, turning to the professors about him] I want you to show my young countrymen [waving his hand to the students below] how to make money in the American fashion.

In the Memoir of my father, I had had occasion to make reference to Arinori Mori, who was, in 1865–66, the Ambassador from Japan to Washington, and who became a close friend of my father's. As Mori was more than once a guest at my father's house, I had the opportunity of studying him at close hand, so to speak. I was impressed not only with the extent of his knowledge, but with the range and width of his views on historical matters and on questions of the day. Mori was born to be a statesman of the world, and he seemed to me to be

much freer from what one would call in the United States district prejudices than was the case with any political leaders of whom I had knowledge. He recognized that the time had come to bring Japan into relations with the world at large, and he was very anxious that the island kingdom should take a dignified position in the family of nations and that its international relations should be carried on with the highest possible standard of consideration, comity, and fairness to all concerned.

In 1865, he wrote a pamphlet on Toleration, considered historically and with reference to the requirements of the nineteenth century. He was master of a graceful, fluent, and eloquent English, and his pamphlet was issued at once in English and in Japanese. He asked my father to go over the English version for the correction of any possible solecisms, and my father put the task into my hands, but the work of revision was really superfluous. The statement, strong in itself, was admirably presented. Mori set forth, with full knowledge of the history, the attempts that had been made in the past centuries to restrict by government authority the holding and the expression of the faith of the individual, and pointed out the stupidity and the perniciousness of such effort. "The government," he said, "needs the best development of all of its citizens, and that can be secured only if these citizens are permitted to think freely and to express their views frankly." The pamphlet was somewhat too advanced in its views to meet the approval of the Tycoon's government, and, as a result of official ciriticism, Mori was recalled from his post in Washington and sent to exile on his country estate. His services were, however, too valuable to be spared and within a short time he was given the appointment of Ambassador to Pekin, the highest post which was at that time within the gift of the government.

Later, he was recalled to become Secretary of Religion and Education, and it was while holding this position that he was assassinated, still in young middle life, by a fanatic, as he was leaving the temple after an official sacrifice. It was the dread of the conservative party in Japan that Mori's influence was likely to tend to undermine the ancient faiths and the ancient traditions.

During the Russo-Japanese War, I had as my guest at my home and in the Century Club, Baron Kaneko, who was in this country for some months as a financial agent for his government, and who also had, if I understood rightly, some responsibilities in connection with the shaping of American public opinion in favour of the Japanese cause. He certainly showed no little cleverness in the manner in which this cause was presented. He made clear to those of us who heard him either from the platform or in personal conversation in the Club, or elsewhere, that Japan was fighting for its existence. That if Russia had been permitted to occupy Korea, in which great concessions had been given to certain grand dukes, Japan would find itself practically throttled. It needed outlets not only for its trade, but for its population. The islands were not big enough and were not fertile enough to support the annual increase of its people. It was his belief that the direction of the development of civilized life in Korea and in Manchuria could be undertaken with much better results by Japan than by Russia or China. Japan is fortunate in having had available, since its relations with the outer world became important, capable representatives possessing the necessary knowledge of the languages and possessing, what foreign representatives so often forget, the tact to fit in to the point of view of the other fellow. Kaneko spoke of the needs and hopes of Japan in such fashion that the American could understand and could sympathize.

I was interested in hearing of the preparation that had been made some years before the outbreak of the war for the contest that they knew was impending. It was all important that they should avoid being rushed at the outset by overwhelming forces better equipped than their own. One of their difficulties was in the equipment of cavalry. The horse is, I believe, not indigenous in Japan, and there had been but few horses in the country. Some years prior to the war, a committee, of which Baron Kaneko was chairman, had been importing horses from Texas, Hungary, and elsewhere, with the view of being prepared to meet the heavier cavalry of the Russians. Their purchases had included a number of horses of full size. When they came to put upon these big horses their small-sized cavalrymen, it was found that the men had no safe seat. The back of the horse was so broad that it was impossible for the rider to secure a grip with his knees, and the poor Japanese, however much practice they might have had in riding on smaller beasts, were continually being unhorsed. It proved necessary to discard the big horses and to go back to the smaller beasts. Even in so doing, they produced cavalry which, as far as the mere matter of momentum was concerned, could not withstand a charge of the big Russian. I told the Baron, speaking in joke, that it would be evidently necessary for the Japanese authorities to begin to train cavalry to fit these bigger horses. He answered quite simply (my friend had not the faintest sense of humour) that measures were already being taken to such effect.

In 1912 I had as my guest in New York a cultivated Japanese author, Dr. Inazo Nitobe, for whom we had already published a book, *Bushido, or the Spirit of Japan.* Dr. Nitobe had married an American wife, a charming Quakeress of Philadelphia, and the union seemed to be in every way harmonious. He held a professor's chair

in one of the big universities (I think at Kyoto), but had obtained leave of absence for the purpose of presenting to the American people a series of lectures on the actual conditions in Japan and the prospects and ideals of his people. Nitobe was a very successful lecturer. He had full knowledge of his subject-matter, and his statements were presented in such a naïve and dramatic manner that it took away from them any statistical or dry-as-dust character. His volume on *Japan of Today*, which my firm had the opportunity of publishing, compares very favourably with the numerous accounts of the country written by outsiders whose sojourns have extended from a few weeks to a few years. It will be likely to remain the authority on its subject.

T. Iyenaga. In 1914, I had the opportunity of meeting Dr. T. Iyenaga who was filling some special responsibilities in the United States on behalf of his country.

He had been charged, or he had charged himself, with the work of making clear to the American public the relation of Japan to the European War and the grounds on which Japan had felt called upon to enter the contest.

Dr. Iyenaga impressed me as one of the cleverest speakers, particularly in controversial discussion, whom I had ever listened to. During the months of the war, I heard him speak more than once, and always with dignity, and his addresses were always characterized by full information, dignity of utterance, and a keen sense of humour.

I remember one occasion on which the Doctor was called upon to meet in debate Dr. Dernburg, at that time a special representative from Germany, and to present the Japanese, as opposed to the German, point of view, of the nature of the war issues. The German was a man of force and a good scholar, but he had no sense of humour and no lightness of touch, and his Japanese antagonist, so to speak, walked all around him in the debate. One word

of Iyenaga's, while not quite fair as a matter of historical relation, was perhaps legitimate in controversy. He said:

> My people, having entered this war, are expecting to do their part and will be ready to take such action as their Allies may call for. We will, if so desired, send troops to Europe, but we should hope, in that case, to be assigned to some region of operations where our force can be kept under the direction of its own commanders.
>
> Our Treasury is poor and the expenses of war constitute for us a serious burden, but if we send this expedition to help decide the European contest, we shall go at our own cost. The troops of Japan would not be willing to do their work as hirelings, in the manner, for instance, in which certain troops from Germany took part in the war in this country in 1777.

The foreign relations of the Empire of the Pacific will be wisely directed as long as it has available representatives as capable and as forcible as Dr. Iyenaga.

Japan Society. During the past few years, I have interested myself in the work of the Japan Society of America, the initiative and the direction of which are largely due to that energetic and public-spirited citizen Mr. Lindsay Russell. The Japan Society is made up of citizens who are interested in doing what may be practicable to further harmonious and satisfactory relations between Japan and the United States, and to frustrate the wicked attempts that are made from time to time to work up friction or schemes that would interfere with these relations. The Japan Society includes a few Japanese members, and naturally takes occasion to bring to its gatherings from time to time representative citizens from the Empire of the Pacific, and I have found myself in this way strengthening my interests in and my sympathies with a people which present a curious combination of energy, effective force, and quiet charm and courtesy.

I had the opportunity of co-operating with Mr. Russell during the early months of 1915 in the production of an American edition of a message that had been addressed to the United States by leading men of Japan and that was published under the title of *Japan to America*. Some months after the publication of the American issue of the volume from Japan, Mr. Russell and myself brought into print the companion book, *America to Japan*, which presented greetings from some fifty-four representative American citizens to their fellows on the other side of the Pacific. These two volumes, modest in compass as they are, constitute, I think, something distinctive in the history of international relations. I do not know another case where publishing machinery has been utilized so directly for the purpose of furthering the exchange of sound information and of sympathetic views.

CHAPTER VII

Avocations

The Service of the Public. Notwithstanding the absorptions and cares of the publishing business, I have found time to take up some interests outside of the office. In dividing my hours and my energies, I soon came to the conclusion that a man's business work—what may be called his vocation—can be carried on more effectively and more intelligently if he does not permit his vitalities and his thought to be entirely absorbed in the undertakings from which he earns his livelihood. It has been my experience that the business end of a man's mind works to better advantage if during some hours of the twenty-four, or some days of the month, he gives thought to matters outside of his office. The mind, instead of becoming fagged and stale with one set of ideas, returns on the Monday morning with renewed freshness and interest to the task from which it has for a brief period been diverted.

This consideration is, of course, entirely apart from the personal interest and personal pleasure that a man may secure in the avocations to which he gives a portion of his time; while it is also apart from the recognition of the obligation which rests, as I hold, upon every patriotic citizen to render his share of service to the community in which he is spending his life. It is a truism to say

that the duty of the citizen to the State is far from being discharged when he has simply obeyed the law and paid his taxes. In every civilized community, and particularly, I judge, in a country like the United States the responsibility for the direction of the affairs of which rests with the citizens, there are many wrongs and evils and troubles, difficulties calling for redress, for amendment, or for attention, which cannot be given, or which very often at least has not heretofore been effectively given, by the officials. The measures of government are not sufficient, and the capacities of government officials are not adequate, for taking care effectively of more than a portion of the requirements of the community. This would be true even if the administration of any State or city were carried on by the wisest of its citizens and with a high and consistent standard of official action; but officials, being men, are fallible and political methods are faulty and not infrequently corrupt, and the authority of government is often inadequate to protect the rights and the interests of its citizens, and particularly of the needier citizens, to prevent wrong and to ensure justice. The action of the officials often itself calls for supervision and investigation. Citizens put officials into office, but if the duties of these offices are to be administered effectively, or even with fair measure of decency, the officials must be made to feel that the task of the voters is not completed with the election, and that these voters are keeping a watchful eye on their servants, the officeholders.

The requirement for such continued watchfulness on the part of the citizen is naturally greater in matters connected with the government of cities than in those relating to the management of the affairs of the nation; while it is also easier to bring the influence of the citizen to bear upon municipal responsibilities than upon the policies of the State or of the nation.

The average citizen does not always remember that his welfare and happiness are affected to an enormously greater degree by the wisdom, or lack of wisdom, in the administration of the affairs of the city in which he lives than by any decisions in regard to the policies of the State or of the nation. We are met at every turn in our home life and in the management of the affairs by which we get our livelihood by the conditions, bad or good (and in the past years in New York it must be said often bad), of municipal administration. The burdens of taxation, very much greater per capita for the city than for the nation, constitute only the first factor in the matter. How much money shall be taken and how it shall be taken is, of course, an all-important consideration; but it is of still greater importance to determine how the expenditure shall be made by the officials in whose hands the resources are placed.

The city of New York has always made special demand upon its citizens for personal service. It holds a big position among the cities of the world, and its history has been worked out under exceptional conditions which have brought upon it special problems and difficulties. New York is the gateway to the continent and since, with the years of the Irish famine of the late thirties and early forties, and with the revolutionary movements of 1848, the great waves of migration began to set westward from Europe, New York has had to deal with masses of people foreign to its original Dutch and Yankee settlers, such as have never before in the history of the world gone to the making of a city's population. This material, Irish, German, Scandinavian, Italian, Hungarian, Balkan, Russian, and Hebrew, has in more ways than one constituted an enormously important factor in the development of the Republic. If it had not been for this great contribution of labour that could not earn a livelihood in Europe,

and for which the farms, the railroad and building construction, and the factories of America were waiting, the progress of the Republic would have been seriously retarded. It is necessary to bear in mind, however, the offsets to this all-important service. The best of the material that came to America from Europe was that sent over in the first series of immigrations, and particularly that resulting from the revolutionary upheaval of 1848. The more active-minded and energetic of the Irishmen, the liberty-loving and enterprising North Germans, the sober-minded and industrious Scandinavians, brought substance of the right nature for the shaping of our communities. When, however, these earlier sources of migration were more or less exhausted and the increasing streams of transatlantic travellers came from homes much farther away in methods of life and of character, from such distant communities as those of southeastern Europe, the difficulty of assimilation became very much greater. With these later groups, as for that matter with the earlier, the best of the material has always found its way promptly through New York to settlements in the West. The rubbish, the driftwood, and, worst of all, the criminal groups looking for an easy living without labour, have very largely remained in New York City to add in more ways than one to the burdens of its citizens, to swell its list of paupers and criminals, and to overtax the capacity of its government, however much aided by the voluntary service of individuals, for adequate control either of pauperism or of crime. For three fourths of a century, New York has been called upon to receive, to digest (as far as possible), or at least to control, the failures of Europe.

The problem has, of course, been made all the greater because the system of manhood suffrage which is accepted for the nation and for the State can hardly be excluded,

and as a fact never has been excluded, from the city. Political leaders of the baser sort, the men who make a gamble of politics, the tricksters and the political speculators, promptly found their opportunity in using ignorant voting material, through the backing of which they could be placed in power and could secure the control of the resources of the city. Thousands of voters who cannot read English, thousands of others who are able to read but who do not trouble themselves to understand the issues to be passed upon, have been willing to leave their actions as American citizens to be controlled by leaders, chiefly Irish, for building up the great organization of Tammany Hall, and for supporting district associations equally bent on the exploitation of the community. Thousands of public-spirited New Yorkers have from year to year done what seemed to be possible to retain some measure of independence for the honest and intelligent portion of the community, the portion which is called upon to contribute in increasing amounts of taxation some defence against an exploitation that as carried on in certain years could better be described as "piracy."

From time to time, citizens working in voluntary committees have been able to head off, or at least to check the worst of the evils. Now and then, as in 1877, when the Tweed Ring was brought to its downfall, these committees have been able to bring legal penalties to bear upon the worst of the pirates, but during my experience as a citizen of New York, I judge that in sixteen years out of twenty, the control of the city has been in the hands of leaders whose chief support came from the unintelligent and the ignorant, and whose powers were used not for the good of the city, but for their own aggrandizement and profit. During the past twenty years, there has, however, been a wholesome development of civic patriotism;

the number of men, old and young, who have been willing to give of their money and of their time for the work of the community is increasing, and with the larger experience in such work, the capacity of citizens as political leaders, and their ability to handle the complex problems presented, have very much developed. With this higher effectiveness of citizen action, New York has finally secured during the first years of the twentieth century a better municipal administration than had been known during the previous fifty years. Writing in 1914, I may say that the municipal authorities are doing better work than I have in my experience as a citizen before known, and it seems as if New York could never again accept domination from such a gang of unscrupulous gamblers as were brought to book with Tweed in 1877.

The Society for Political Education. Shepard and Dugdale. In the late seventies, I came into association with Edward M. Shepard, of the New York Bar, Richard R. Bowker, already referred to, Richard Dugdale, and with one or two other men of the same generation, in the work of the Society for Political Education. Dugdale was an Englishman who had inherited a small competency that saved him from giving daily hours to business work. He had large ideals for the education of the community. He had convinced himself, as many other public-spirited men have convinced themselves, that if representative government is not to be a farce, the fighting power must be in the hands of voters who possess adequate information in regard to the issues to be decided from election to election, and who possess further a sufficient training to utilize such information and to arrive at an intelligent judgment for their action as citizens.

Such an ideal for the foundations of a representative government is, of course, a counsel of perfection; it has never been realized adequately in any state in the world's

history. I suppose that in Athens in the latter part of the fifth and in the early years of the fourth century B.C., and in such an Italian city as Florence before the power of government was taken possession of by one of the big families, the direction of public affairs was in the hands of a class of citizens (representing of course but a minority of the population as a whole) whose information and whose intelligence would have met the standards that Dugdale had in his mind as a proper condition of citizenship. But even in Athens and in Florence, such conditions lasted but for a brief period, and under the pressure either of ambition from within or of war conditions from without, the control of these states soon fell into the hands of individuals who were empowered to act, or who seized the power to act, without reference to any representative opinion whatsoever.

Dugdale had a great belief in the influence of reasonable argument. He thought that the voters of a community could be educated to a public-spirited understanding of its duties by means of tracts, monographs, political sermons, etc. I was young enough to be, if not confident, at least hopeful, in regard to any such experiments.

Our little committee worked together for some years with moneys collected for the purpose from older men who were sympathetic with our enthusiasm, and we brought into print and into circulation in a series of monographs some wise, wholesome, and educational treatises in regard to the obligations of citizens and the possibilities of action by citizens. Dugdale, who had always been an invalid, died after we had worked together for a few years, and having no family, he left his little property as a fund for carrying on the work of political education. The few hundred dollars income that was secured from this fund was certainly used unselfishly

and with conscientious thought. It is not easy to point to direct results, but I can but feel as if the reiterated sowing of seed and the persistent effort in behalf of good citizenship must have had influence on the citizens of the community and that the use made by us of Dugdale's dollars represented a wise investment.

The Civil Service Reform Committee. In June, 1877, President Hayes issued an order prohibiting United States officials from engaging in private work, and particularly from collecting from their subordinates assessments or subscriptions for party purposes. This instruction was, of course, in full accord with the purpose and the provisions of the National Civil Service Act (passed in the winter of 1876–77), which act is usually referred to as the first civil service reform law. Both the law and the instructions were, however, for the first year or two very generally disregarded by United States officials throughout the country, many of whom had been, and continued to be, active in the leadership and in the management of their party affairs. The antagonism of these party men against what they called "snivel service reform" was the strongest in Pennsylvania and in New York. I was at the time a member of the executive committee of the National Civil Service Reform Association, of which George William Curtis was the president. The committee decided that, at whatever cost, some effort must be made to enforce the provision of the law against political assessments and to make clear that the Civil Service Act was as much a part of the governing system of the country as any other act on the statute book.

General Newton M. Curtis, a man who had won well deserved honours in the Civil War and had lost an eye at the capture of Fort Fisher, held at this time an office in the New York Custom House. He was an active party

man, and had accepted without question the instructions of A. B. Cornell, at that time Naval Officer and also treasurer of the Republican State Committee, to take charge of the work of collecting from the employees of the Custom House assessments for the funds required by the Republican State organization for the coming election. Curtis collected in the course of thirty days a good many hundred dollars, the assessments being based upon a percentage of the salaries of the employees.

One of the difficulties in preventing the collection was due to the technical wording of the act. Our legal advisers informed us that in order to enforce the penalties of the law, we should have to prove that "lawful money" had been paid in response to a demand. A large number of the payments had been made in checks, and others in national bank notes, which, while accepted for commercial purposes, were, it seems, under a strict interpretation of the law, not legal tender. We finally found one case in which a coloured porter, in response to a demand for a percentage of his month's salary, had handed to General Curtis a United States national note (greenback) for the amount of five dollars. The darky was able to say with certainty, in having certain bills shown to him, that his payment *had* been made in a national note. "You see, boss, I don't have so many five dollar bills, and I study 'em pretty closely when I get 'em, and I hate to part with 'em. I knew that bill when I handed it over." This was the only man whose testimony could be depended upon in the suit that we brought against Curtis, but his evidence proved sufficient to convict the General of a breach of the law. When our darky had been put upon the stand and had sworn to his five dollar bill, there was practically no defence. Curtis was fined one thousand dollars, which fine was, properly enough, paid by the Republican State Committee. I met the old General

frequently afterwards at the Loyal Legion dinners and in my publishing office, for we printed for him later a dramatically written narrative of his war experiences. He used to insist, with good-natured emphasis, that he had done more than any one man in the country to advance the cause of Civil Service Reform, and he was right, for the precedent established through the conviction of Curtis enabled our association to threaten similar action in other Custom Houses and United States Revenue Offices throughout the country. As a result, the assessment of the United States employees was brought practically to an end. The party leaders came to understand that the civil service reformers meant business and that the reform had come to stay.

In addition to my personal interest in the purpose of the association I appreciated the opportunity that work in the executive committee gave to me for coming into personal relations with distinguished citizens. Reference has been made in earlier pages to the two earlier leaders of the association, Curtis and Schurz. I may name here Edwin L. Godkin, who was at the time of my activities with the executive committee chief owner and editor of the New York *Nation*, and who shortly after became managing editor of the *Evening Post*. Godkin's character and his service to the country have been very fully analysed in the biography by Ogden and in a number of individual papers. His relations with the *Nation* and the contribution made by the paper during the past fifty years to the formation of public opinion are admirably set forth in the group of articles contributed to the centennial number by friends and co-workers, such as James Bryce, Horace White, Arthur Sedgwick, and others. I had opportunities of meeting Mr. Godkin not only in the committee, but in the Century Club and elsewhere, and came to hold him in affectionate regard. I was disappointed—and I imagine

that my disappointment was shared by my friends—that a man who possessed such exceptional intellectual power, so keen a sense of humour, so large a field of information, and such absolute integrity of purpose, did not succeed during the fifty years of his active life in exerting a larger influence on the direction of affairs in the country. There was something perverse in Godkin's temperament that made it difficult for him to bring his conclusions to bear in such manner as to gain adherents. It was said, and there must have been truth in the saying, that there was no better way of making a cause unpopular than to put Godkin in as an advocate, and yet his advocacy was most brilliant and in form at least conclusive. The fairy godmother who contributed so much at his birth had left out the gift of persuasiveness. Godkin was not only a great citizen, but a good man, and he ought to have had the large satisfaction that belongs to a man of high purposes in the feeling that he has done his full share in bringing those purposes into effect. Horace White, a close friend of Godkin, differed from him in many ways. White was (and writing in 1915, I am glad to be able to say still is) a man of even temperament. While clear cut in his convictions, he is not easily stirred to anger and does not possess the troublesome faculty of inviting anger in others. He has through his long life been a student not only of American conditions, but of classical literature. He is an authority alike on the political problems with which Lincoln's generation was concerned and on the Latin authors of the time of Augustus. While claiming no gift of eloquence, he has always possessed a good English style and has been able to bring his opinions to bear in the columns of the *Post* and elsewhere with a full measure of effectiveness. He has a warm circle of friends, all of whom are pressing him to do his duty to his own generation and that which is following by recording memories

of the strenuous three-quarters of a century in which his life has been passed.

The Election of Hayes and the "Young Scratchers." 1876–1879. I was, of course, keenly interested in the political issues that were fought out in the presidential campaign of 1876, the campaign that resulted, after delays that seemed for the time full of peril for the Republic, in the Presidency of Rutherford B. Hayes. I found myself, partly in connection with my growing antagonism to the protection policy of the Republican party, sympathetic with the contentions submitted on behalf of the candidacy of Mr. Tilden. I was, however, still too close to the memories of the war and of the anti-slavery fight that had preceded the war, to think it possible to cast a vote for the candidate of the Democratic party. Mr. Tilden was in his way doubtless as good a supporter of the Union as was General Hayes, but the mere fact that all of the communities which had belonged to the Confederacy were strongly in favour of Tilden, and the further fact that the Tammany organization of New York City, under the lead of the gang whose infamy was a year later to be brought to light under the investigations of Tilden himself, was backing the same Democratic candidate, constituted for me an insuperable objection to voting with the Democrats. On the other hand, when the long contest in Congress over the counting of the electoral vote brought to light the methods by which the Republican leaders had managed their campaign, I found myself increasingly critical of the purposes and actions of the Republican party. My criticism did not extend, however, to the Republican candidate. The war record of General Hayes had been excellent, and his service as Governor of Ohio had added to his reputation. He was in no way a great man, but could fairly be described as a good citizen. He had simplicity of character and the power of concentrat-

ing his not very important ability in such fashion as to bring about, one by one, certain real accomplishments that were of decided value to the country.

Among the old-time anti-slavery Republicans with whom I had come into association in the civil service reform work, was General Francis C. Barlow, known to his friends as Frank Barlow. Barlow had made a brilliant record during the war, retiring with the rank of Major-General. He had gone out as a Lieutenant-Colonel with a Massachusetts regiment, and had within a year come to the command of a brigade. He was seriously wounded more than once, and had in fact been left for dead on the field of Gettysburg where the Eleventh Corps, to which his own brigade was attached, was nearly crushed on the afternoon of the first day by the advance under Ewell of the left wing of Lee's army. Barlow was picked up by General Gordon who led the advance of Ewell's troops and put to one side under a tree with the belief that he had but an hour or two to live. Gordon recorded in his diary that the Yankee General had, while being lifted, murmured something like, "Damn you all! I am not dying! I shall live to see the end of your blasted Confederacy." Ten years or more later, Gordon met Barlow at a dinner in New York, and was reminded that the prophecy, not very respectfully expressed, had come true. Barlow had married for his second wife a daughter of George Francis Shaw, thus becoming the brother-in-law of Curtis, of whom he was very fond. He had retained his association with the Republican party and was one of the delegates sent by the campaign managers to Florida after the election of November, 1876, to see what could be done to hold the Florida electors in line for Hayes. On investigating into matters in Florida, Barlow became convinced that the Tilden electors had been fairly chosen. It may be borne in

mind that outside of four contested States, Louisiana, Florida, South Carolina, and Oregon, Tilden had secured a full majority of the electors. The Democratic candidate needed but a single electoral vote from any one of the four States in which upon one ground or another the returns were in dispute, in order to secure a final majority in the College. To the disgust of John Sherman and the other Republican managers, Barlow brought into print on his return from Florida a minority report in which he insisted that the State ought to be counted for Tilden. This act of rebellion naturally finished Barlow's association with the Republican party. His protest was overridden, as was a similar protest from one of the visiting statesmen in Louisiana. History records that by vote of eight to seven in the special Commission appointed for the purpose, it was finally decided, first, that the returns on their face gave to Hayes the electoral vote of the four States in question, and, second, that the Commission had "no authority to go behind the returns." If it had not been for this act of independence, it was possible that Barlow, who was a capable lawyer, and notwithstanding some pepperiness of temper, a clever political leader, might have secured high influence in the councils of the Republican party.

Carl Schurz had voted for Hayes and had accepted office in Hayes's Cabinet as Secretary of the Interior. I shared the impression with other of Schurz's nearer friends that in later years, when he was making a careful study of the record of this contested election with the view to writing a history of the period, he convinced himself that the Presidency ought to have gone to Tilden. Of course he never made utterance to such effect. He had a strong personal regard for Hayes, and in common with citizens generally, Democrats as well as Republicans, he was convinced that Hayes had had no knowledge of

the methods pursued by the Republican leaders to force a decision in their favour, but we felt that it had been to Schurz, with his high standard of political action, a ground for personal mortification that the only administration with which he had official connection must go down to history with a cloud on its title to office. The country may be congratulated that this fuller record of the conditions of the election did not come to Schurz until long after his own term of office. His service as Secretary of the Interior was distinctive and valuable. He had an enormous task on his hands in clearing up and bringing to an end the corrupt practices that had developed so seriously under the administration of Grant.

I had, as before stated, been keenly interested in political questions from the time of my first vote in 1865, but my first individual action, that is to say, my first attempt to exert influence in politics was made in 1879. In 1878 had been enacted the statute for the reform of the civil service, the main purpose of which was to protect the national officials against the pressure of political managers, and to take the business of the country out of politics. A large measure of credit must be given to President Hayes for his courage in using the influence of the administration, in the face of the strong opposition of his political advisers, to secure the passage of the bill, and, what was still more difficult, to bring its provisions into force. The most important of the co-operation that was given to the President from his Cabinet came, as stated, from Schurz. Evarts, the Secretary of State, and John Sherman, Secretary of the Treasury, were very little interested in the matter. The Republican leaders in the House and in the Senate spoke of the reform as academic rubbish, outside of the sphere of "practical politics." This was the view taken very generally by the political leaders throughout the country. One of the more important

of the Republican leaders in New York was Alonzo B. Cornell, who held the position of Naval Officer in the Custom House. Cornell was at the time also treasurer of the State Republican Committee, and in his work of collecting funds for conducting the work of the party and for the maintenance of the machine, he continued, in contravention of the provisions of the civil service statute, to make assessments in the Custom House and throughout the State upon United States officeholders. The appointments that he had the power of making directly and those that he recommended to the collector and to the postmaster were also dictated solely by the needs of the machine. The Civil Service Reform Executive Committee took occasion from week to week to place before the President the evidence that Cornell was using the Custom House as the Republican headquarters, and that the officeholders were under continued pressure for assessments for political service. At the instance of our committee, of which Curtis was at the time chairman, Hayes notified Cornell that he must resign either his connection with the State Committee, or his post in the Custom House. He refused to do either, and he was then, properly enough, dismissed from his post as Naval Officer. The Republican State convention, for the purpose of showing its contempt for the reformers generally and for the President's policy in particular, promptly nominated Cornell as Governor of the State. The Democrats put in nomination Lucius Robinson, who was then serving as Governor, and who had made an excellent record in Albany. The satisfactoriness of Robinson's service was due in part to the fact that he had refused to accept the orders of Boss Kelly of Tammany Hall. Kelly had endeavoured, without success, to prevent the renomination of Robinson by the Democratic convention, but, while the State was close, Robinson had a very good chance

for re-election. The group to which I belonged, while very indignant with Cornell and with the State Republican machine, were still too good Republicans to think of the possibility of voting for a Democrat, or of advising their fellow-voters to break away from the party that had saved the country. We desired, however, to make some public protest against the impudent action of the State machine in nominating for Governor a man who had been shown up as a law-breaker, and who had forced a conflict with the President, the proper national leader of the party. Two friends of my own generation, Richard Bowker, before referred to, and Frederick W. Whitridge, who became known later as a successful corporation lawyer and railway president, met in my office to talk over some plan for formulating a protest on the part of the Civil Service Republicans. We finally decided to try the experiment of printing a scratched ballot. At that time the ballot was not an official production. Each party committee printed and distributed its own ballot. Our ballot as finally shaped contained the names of the Republican State candidates, seven in all, but a broad black line was printed across the name of Alonzo Cornell at the head of the ticket, and that of a man named Soule, who had been nominated as State engineer and whose name found place at the bottom of the ticket. Soule had been in office before and had made an unsatisfactory record. We proposed to bring this ticket into print in such of the papers as might be prepared to sympathize with our protest, and to connect with it an appeal to independent Republicans to show their approval of the President and their support of the Civil Service Act by voting the scratched ballot and thus bringing into condemnation, from their own party, these two unworthy candidates. The scratched ballot secured, of course, only half a vote against the candidates, but it had the advantage of making clear that the disap-

proval came from Republican voters. We appealed to Republicans who found themselves in sympathy with our contention to send in their names for the roster of the proposed organization, and we each put into the treasury five dollars to cover the preliminary expenses. The movement might, of course, be compared to that of the three tailors of Tooley Street whose political rebellion is recorded in the English history of an earlier century, but we were able to show some results for our action.

I took our scratched ballot and our eloquently worded protest to Albert G. Browne, who was at the time editor of the *Herald*. Browne was a scholarly and capable Massachusetts man, who during the war had done good service for Massachusetts and for the country in the post of secretary to Governor Andrew. Andrew had trusted him implicitly and during the four years in which Massachusetts led the Northern States in the excellence of its war organization and the promptness with which its men and supplies were sent to the front, the State owed its well-earned prestige not only to its great war Governor but to his alter ego, the secretary. Browne was a cordial supporter of the Civil Service movement, and he was also, in form at least, still a Republican; I thought he would be prepared to co-operate in our protest. Browne read through the protest and the form of ballot, and gave at once his cordial approval. "I'll print both, Haven," he said, "in the *Herald* of tomorrow morning and I hope we shall be able to arouse some measure of public opinion." On buying my *Herald* the following morning, I found not only that the protest had been printed with the scratched ballot in facsimile, but that Browne had written a strong editorial emphasizing the importance for the State and for the country of this "revolt of the independent Republicans." I thought that was rather a large name to give to a movement which, for the moment at least, comprised

only three youngsters and one editor. I found, however, in turning to the text of the appeal to Republicans, that instead of printing this as we had worded it, with our three names signed as individual Republicans asking for co-operation from those who agreed with us, Browne had made a slight change in the wording of the last sentence and had printed our three names as constituting the "executive committee of the Independent Republican Association of the State of New York." As I was not responsible for this not very accurate and rather grandiloquent description of our organization, I could not feel particularly indignant at the change that had been made by our editorial adviser. It is probable also that in this instance, the inaccuracy or exaggeration of statement may be considered as having been justified by the results. We secured in the course of the first few weeks, subscriptions amounting to something over five thousand dollars. One of the first checks that came in to me was one for four hundred dollars from John M. Forbes, a good citizen of Massachusetts who had been able during the war to render great service to Lincoln's administration and to the country. Forbes held no office, but as a merchant of wide experience and large influence on both sides of the Atlantic, he had been called upon for counsel by the President or by the Secretary of the Treasury in connection with the issue of the seven-thirty loan. In 1863, in the darkest months of the struggle, Forbes went to England with a couple of trunks filled with seven-thirty bonds and used his private influence, connections, and credit to get these bonds placed in all possible channels. It must have been no little satisfaction for him to realize later that his European friends who had trusted his word secured satisfactory profits from their investment.

Forbes wrote with his check apologizing for interference on the part of a Massachusetts man in a matter of

New York State politics, but he said: "I find myself cordially interested in your protest and your appeal. The question is one that in principle at least concerns the Republican party and independent voters generally throughout the whole country."

It was, of course, not practicable for us youngsters to establish before election any machinery, or even any adequate correspondence throughout the State. We did, however, succeed in interesting a number of the leading editors who from time to time brought our protest and our scratched ballot into print, and we secured also in a number of the larger towns of the State representatives who were willing to help in distributing the form of ballot and in working up local opinion in behalf of "our ticket." We had not sufficient money for the hiring of halls or the holding of meetings. We used our funds principally for postage and for the distribution of a number of thousands of copies of the protest and the form of scratch ballot. The appeal was printed as a Republican document addressed "to Republicans," and we were able to secure its distribution at a large number of the Cornell Republican meetings that were held throughout the State. John Kelly, who had before been apprehensive that his antagonist Governor Robinson was going to be re-elected, became convinced that this re-election was made much more probable by the "Republican revolt," and for the purpose of defeating Robinson, Kelly nominated himself for Governor, and he ordered Tammany Hall and Tammany's correspondents throughout the State to cast their votes for him. The election showed that Kelly's calculations had been well founded. He secured for himself seventy thousand votes, and if it had not been for this diversion of Democrats, Robinson would have been elected by a substantial majority.

As a fact, Cornell pulled through with a sufficient

margin, but the Republican candidate for State engineer, Mr. Soule, was defeated by twenty thousand votes. It was by these votes cast against Soule, votes which were not confused by a third candidate, that the "Young Scratchers," as we had come to be called, were able to measure the result of their labours. These 20,000 votes were *our* votes, and they made clear that the defeat of Soule had been brought about by the scratched ballot, and that if John Kelly had not come to the rescue of the Republican machine, Cornell would have been defeated by the same margin.

The morning after the election, the Democratic candidate for State engineer, Mr. Horatio Seymour, Jr., whom I had, I admit, entirely forgotten, came in to express his appreciation of the great service I had rendered in securing his election, and, incidentally, to ask me "what I wanted." It happened that there was nothing in the line of the business or contracts under the control of the State engineer which I was in a position to utilize for furthering the publishing business, and Mr. Seymour went away somewhat puzzled as to what had been the motive of this particular citizen in going into politics. Later in the day, I received another call that interested me still more. Mr. Tilden, whose home in Gramercy Park was a short distance from my office in Fifth Avenue, came in to shake me by the hand and to tender his congratulations for the good work that I had rendered to the cause of independence in politics. He added to his congratulations an invitation to spend the night with him at Greystone, his beautiful home in Yonkers. I was foolish enough to decline the invitation. I was still too much of a Republican to be able to overcome a certain feeling of aversion at being congratulated by a Democrat, and particularly by such a wily old Democrat as we believed Tilden to be. I should doubtless have had a very interesting evening at

Greystone. Tilden was very nearly a great man; and he certainly rendered noteworthy service to the State and to the country in his capable leadership of the fight against Tweed and the Tammany of Tweed's day. He was, however, not fitted to gain success as a popular leader. He found it difficult to have faith in other men, and he did not impress upon other men confidence in himself. He brought into politics the tendency to methods of chicanery which are so apt to characterize the politics of lawyers. It is now clear from the history that serious frauds had been planned or connived at in Louisiana and in Florida by the Republican leaders in the effort to retain for the Republican party the control of the Presidency. It is also clear, however, that the methods of Tilden's campaign managers in Oregon and in South Carolina were open to grave criticism. It is a great pity that so good a cause as the Democrats had in 1876 should have been marred by bad management and unworthy practices.

I have nothing to regret in looking back in the part I took in the work of the "Young Scratchers' Campaign." I think that the three youngsters who through this movement made their entrance into politics, are entitled to the credit of initiating for the State of New York, and for States outside of New York, the great cause of Mugwumpery. I believe in the necessity of party government, but I hold now, as I did nearly forty years back, that the influence of independent voters who are prepared to take action from time to time between the two parties and who refuse to accept party dictations that are contrary to the interests of the community, is absolutely essential for maintaining any wholesome or decent party leadership and party policy. In fact, if only for the political advantage of the party itself, the party leaders ought to welcome such measure of independent action as will help them to keep in subordination

the lower elements in their own party groups. The selection on the part of a nominating convention of candidates representing the higher standard of party action in preference to the men backed by the self-seeking political tricksters, has not infrequently been decided by the risk or by the certainty that the nomination of the party hack or tool would mean the defection at the election of a substantial group of independent voters. The power of the in-between group of voters who stand, so to speak, at the centre of the tilting board, should, of course, be exercised not spasmodically or perversely. I remember explaining in a speech at the time that "it is the wise Mugwump that knows when to wump."

The political activities of the "Young Scratchers" committee did not come to a close with the State election of 1879. We found ourselves keenly interested in the Presidential contest that began to take shape early in 1880. A movement had developed within the Republican party for the renomination of General Grant, the second term of whose Presidency had been completed four years back. The active leaders in the party were not personally in favour of giving to Grant a third term, and each leader would naturally have preferred to secure the nomination for himself. The groups of the more active voters were, however, divided between the more prominent candidates so nearly equally that it did not seem possible to secure for any one candidate the support of a majority of the convention, and each of the competitors preferred the nomination of Grant to the success of one of his immediate opponents. The general sentiment throughout the country, still strongly appreciative of the great service rendered by the General in bringing the war to a successful close, was probably prepared to render the further recognition of a third Presidential term. The speculative interests in the party, the groups representing commercial

undertakings that had during Grant's second term brought the Administration so largely into disrepute, and that had made profits out of government contracts and of government influence, were strongly in favour of putting the General again into the White House. They felt, with knowledge of the happenings of his second term, that they could manage Grant, and there was, unfortunately, ground for the feeling. These speculators believed that Grant was a man who in civil affairs could be hoodwinked. Grant's simple-heartedness, his faith in his friends, his unwillingness to believe that any man who had done good service during the war could be unfaithful to a trust, had brought no little trouble on his Administration. The President's influence had been utilized to protect speculators like Shepherd and weak-minded tools like Belknap; and during the second four years of Grant's Presidency, Washington had become the scene of not a few disreputable speculations. The actual character of these speculative undertakings and the extent of the corrupt influence that had grown up about the simple-hearted old General were not at the time fully understood throughout the country. It seemed probable that if Grant's nomination for a third term could have been brought about, he would have secured a satisfactory majority of the popular vote. On the other hand, the independent wing of the Republican party, which included all the civil-service reformers, was decidedly opposed to a third term for Grant. These men realized that Grant had never understood the purpose of or the character of the civil-service-reform movement. They knew that he had trusted the direction of administrative matters largely to men who were direct opponents of the reforms that we had at heart. They had noted with criticism and with indignation the bad administrative record of Grant's second term. Those of us in the group who as old soldiers had an affectionate

personal regard for our General were anxious, for the sake of his own final repute, to save him from the risk of further criticism on the ground of bad administration of executive responsibilities. It was not merely a matter of protecting the country, but of saving the repute of one of the country's heroes. There was, therefore, from New York City strong opposition to the renomination of Grant, an opposition which secured support throughout New England and elsewhere on the general ground of the undesirability of breaking the precedent set by Washington and supported by all of Washington's successors. Our forefathers had decided that it was not wise to extend a President's office beyond two terms, and a large number of conservative citizens in the East at least (the West was much less influenced by what they called "an academic objection") were determined to prevent such precedent from being made. The "Young Scratchers," while representing, as they themselves very well understood, but a mere fraction of political power in the Union, were, nevertheless, able to contribute their measure of service to defeating the nomination of Grant. We sent a delegation to Chicago with enough money to secure headquarters on one of the thoroughfares. The building was small, so small in fact that the banner we placed upon it covered the entire front. The banner carried some such emblem as this: "No third term. No Republican candidate can be elected who cannot carry New York. The vote of New York is controlled by the independents. Read the figures." Below this last line were placed the figures of the latest State election, figures which showed that the State, closely balanced as it was between the Democrats and the Republicans, might easily be controlled for the national election, as it had been for the State election, by the twenty thousand voters who were classed as independents. During the first balloting, Grant came several

times within seven or eight votes of the nomination. Our committee took pains from morning to morning to place in the hands of the delegates as they went into the hall, and particularly those of the doubtful delegates and of the coloured men from South Carolina and Mississippi, printed slips containing the figures of the latest election in New York. The statements in these slips we had occasion to repeat from day to day in personal conversation with the delegates, and particularly with the coloured delegates, in their headquarters. We knew that these coloured men were very anxious for the success of the Republican candidate. They had in fact not been able to free themselves from the apprehension that the success of a wicked Democrat might lead to the restoration of slavery conditions. Our point was clear and was repeated from day to day. If you renominate Grant, New York will go Democratic and a Democrat will become President. Grant's managers were unable to secure from the coloured groups the seven or eight votes that were required, and very much to the disappointment of these managers, and particularly of John Sherman, the nomination finally went to a candidate who had hardly been thought of as prominent among the leaders, James A. Garfield.

The nomination and election of Garfield brought, two years later, through the pistol of Guiteau, the Presidency to Chester A. Arthur. Arthur himself belonged to the machine group of the Republican party, and had been nominated as Vice-President chiefly for the purpose of placating this all-important wing of the party. Our committee returned from Chicago with the feeling that, small in numbers as we were, we had been able to exert an important influence in connection with the nomination, and that we had, therefore, had our share in shaping the history of the country. With this achievement, we brought the work of the committee to a close and adjourned *sine die*.

CHAPTER VIII

Oxford

Worcester College. In 1868, I made a trip to Oxford, carrying some letters of introduction to old friends of my father's, and I was able to begin with the group of Oxford scholars pleasant relations that have now continued for nearly half a century. In looking back over the experiences of the successive visits of these years, I feel an increasing measure of obligations to the Oxford friends, older and younger, who have admitted me into their college circles and have given me the official hospitality of the hall and of the common room, and, what is still more to be valued, have honoured me with the personal relation of the late evening hour in the study. It has been my experience that the Oxford don is a very much more distinctive and more human person to have to do with when he is taking his second or third pipe at midnight than at any other hour; or to put it in another way, that possibly only at that hour does one come into touch with the real man.

The sadness, in looking back over the half-century, is the memory of good Oxford friends who from year to year during that period have gone over to "the majority." The circle has broken sadly, and while younger men have taken up the work of those who have gone, and in certain cases, at least, may have been doing better work, and may sometimes even be more interesting as individual char-

acters than those who preceded them, there can never be just the same feeling of sympathetic intimacy with the generation younger than one's own. My father's name had been pleasantly remembered in Oxford not only by certain of the older booksellers (I recall among others that typical Englishman, James Parker), but by not a few of the scholars and dons.

I was fully impressed with the glory of dining in hall, first in Worcester with Alfred Church, and later in Exeter with Paul Willert and in Christ Church with Frederick York Powell. My intimacy with Balliol came later. It was through the hospitality of young Alfred Church, whose father I had come to know in London, that I secured the privilege of pernoctating in Worcester College. I remember writing home of the feeling of detachment that came to me in securing after ten o'clock the protection of the locked door of the college, and, with the name of *Smith* on the door of my apartments, of being in a position to put to one side all thought of responsibility for wife or for daughters.

The active head of Worcester of that day, Jackson, was good enough to take me into the college circle, and my relations with him continued during the years of his life. He impressed me as a man of sweet nature, lacking perhaps somewhat in energy or in intellectual ambition. I remember speaking to him from time to time of the *magnum opus* that he was supposed to have in train, but the possibility of completing a literary work was always put to one side with the word that the days were too full.

A Worcester man for whom the days were never too full was the truculent economist, Thorold Rogers. His lectures were well attended, and impressed me at once as free from any dry-as-dust character. He made a practice of illuminating his descriptions of old-time economic conditions with references to later political action which

was affecting the conditions of today. He was liberal or radical to the point of fierceness, and was quite ready to utilize a college lecture for a sharp analysis of the principles or the policies of Tory leaders referred to by name. Rogers was a family man, and his home was outside of the college, but his study was preserved in a scholastic atmosphere of dust such as might have been permissible if no woman had been within reach. He told me that wife and daughter were strictly prohibited from touching anything within that particular room. As a result, he was able when working out for me the plan of a campaign in the Low Countries (he was writing for me at the time a history of Holland) to draw a diagram with his finger on the dust of the desk, and there was no difficulty in tracing, through the dust, the movements of the armies.

I could not always keep his talk confined to the business in hand, whether it was history or economics. We published for him later a series of books based upon his economic lectures. He was apt to break into the immediate subject by the reading of his latest satire. He had in a special drawer of the desk a group of satirical writings, added to from time to time, partly political, partly social, and in not a few cases presenting sharp descriptions of Oxford conditions. Rogers had real wit and power of conversation and imagination. The charm of his conversation was hampered by a tendency to bitterness and by a lack of respect for limitations. For the sake of making a point he would yield to the temptation of committing an injustice, and he would not always keep his references within the bounds of graceful or even decent expression, but he was a real addition to the intellectual force of Oxford and of England, and his work in economic statistics continues, as I understand, to possess value and importance.

In Worcester College, I came to know in later years

Henry T. Gerrans and his cheery and capable wife. They impressed me as an admirable pair of chums. Mrs. Gerrans, who is a Canadian, has shown a faculty, that in my national conceit I called American, for direct co-operation in her husband's educational and executive duties. He carried for years responsibilities in supervising the work of the University extension, and in this his wife was able to be of no little service. I remember chaffing her one year in which Gerrans served as senior Proctor, because she was not permitted by the University to join in his rounds as senior "bulldog." In Worcester, as in other colleges later, I passed, from time to time, from the common room of the dons to one or more of the studies of undergraduates. Some of the youngsters were sons of the men whom I had known in London, while others I came to know in one way or another during my Oxford sojourns. I found these young Englishmen attractive companions. They were not active minded—I am speaking, of course, merely of the majority—and their interests were often limited, but they were manly and they impressed me as fine natured. Their standard of what pertained to gentlemanliness was high, but not in the least self-conscious. It was always natural. They were reticent, and it was rather difficult to draw out an expression of beliefs, whether on matters of college work, or university policy, or national politics, or (last of all perhaps) in regard to matters of conscience or of religion. I gathered the impression that, in the main, the English young man pushes along through the responsibilities of the years by instinct rather than by reason; but the instinct seems to be on the whole a healthy one. The smaller group of students—the honour men—with many of whom from year to year I came into personal relations in such colleges as Balliol or New, had a different point of view. They were in Oxford not simply for the sake of going through the

experience proper for English gentlemen, but because they had set their minds upon a certain specific purpose. They were in training for responsibilities that called for training. They were, as honour men, fighting for the success in the "schools" (the honour examinations) that would give them after graduation some advantage or opportunities for getting posts and for making a career for themselves.

Balliol. Historians of Balliol make reference to the very large proportion of Balliol men who have been able to render distinctive service to the Empire. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Dr. Jowett was, as Master of Balliol, called upon by successive administrations, Liberal and Conservative, to supply Balliol men for positions requiring training, character, and capacity. The list of these men who have achieved distinction in responsibilities at different points of the Empire and in the control of the Empire itself shows the exceptional importance of the work done in one college.

The personality of Dr. Jowett was itself an important factor in securing prestige for the college and places for its graduates, but the standard of work done in the college and the distinctive excellence of the men turned out from Balliol from year to year has been well maintained since Jowett's death under his successor Caird and under the present Master, my valued friend Strachan-Davidson.

Colleges like New, Corpus Christi, and in later years University have secured an increasing proportion of the prizes in the honour examinations, but with Balliol remains still the reputation of being the college of the several British universities that is best known not only throughout the Empire, but in the United States and on the Continent.

I have had the privilege of attending lectures by the Balliol dons, a circle which has included some of the best

lecturers in the University. I remember most particularly those of Nettleship on Plato, A. L. Smith on the Emperor Frederick, Wonder of the World, J. A. Smith on some philosophical subjects, and Abbott on Pericles.

It is not merely, however, for intellectual service that I have found myself indebted to Balliol. I remember an occasion when, having my wife with me, I was living not in the college but in Wellington Square, and I had planned a couple of small dinner gatherings at which I could introduce to her some of my friends among the dons. I asked the junior bursar of Balliol where I had better buy the few bottles of claret, etc., that I needed for my festivities, and he gave me his card to the wine merchants who supplied the college. In going to the address specified, I found myself not in a wine shop but at the door of what appeared to be a private residence. The door was opened by a dignified old gentleman, who with his partner, also of mature years, represented the wine-selling establishment. I apologized for intruding with a very retail requirement in what had every appearance of being a wholesale concern. "Perfectly all right, sir," said the wine merchant, "for any gentleman coming from Balliol College." I then named my modest requirements for the dinners in question, laying particular stress upon the item of claret. "Would you mind telling me, sir," said the wine merchant, "what college your friends are from?" "Certainly," I replied, "but I am a little puzzled to know why you are interested." "Why, sir," he said, evidently with the intention of treating a client from Balliol with the utmost fairness, "if you are having gentlement from Jesus or from Keble, an ordinary claret would do; but if your friends are from All Souls, or from Magdalen, for instance, you would need something rather special." I was obliged to admit that one or more of my friends came from the colleges possessing the higher

standard, and the wine merchant and I agreed together that in that case the other fellows must get the benefit of the All Souls quality of claret.

It has been my good fortune to be a guest in Balliol College from spring to spring, during a period of nearly forty years. J. L. Strachan-Davidson, for many years the Dean and at this time, 1915, the Master of the college, has been my immediate host, but all the members of the faculty have taken their share in the hospitality, so that the common room of Balliol has had for me a very homelike feeling. I have known no gathering in which I have found such a charming combination of intellectual interest, social charm, and large-minded sympathy for *quidquid agunt homines* within and without the University, as I have come into touch with in the Balliol common room. During my knowledge of this circle, not a few of its good men have "joined the majority," but there remain certain of the seniors, such as the Master and the present Dean, my brilliant friend, A. L. Smith, who continue the high traditions of Balliol, and men of the succeeding generation like that conscientious and capable scholar, my good friend H. W. C. Davis, whose work shows that the high standard of Balliol is to be maintained. The college has, as heretofore, been fortunate in filling the places that had become vacant with younger men of high attainments, distinctive character, and large promise for the future. I have found myself interested in sitting at the high table at one of the Sunday dinners in June, in getting out of the reticence of some attractive youngster who had been out of college for eight or ten years and had come back for a greeting with his old instructors, some account of his experience in service at a frontier post.

Balliol has maintained the tradition for which Dr. Jowett was largely responsible, of training good men for the service of the Empire. It is the man whose experience

has been the most distinctive from whom it is as a rule most difficult to secure a word of personal reminiscence. With tactful effort, however, I have been able from time to time to extract from my modest young Englishman a bit of a story. I remember one case in which my neighbour at the table explained that he had for a couple of years been holding the post of resident adviser to one of the Indian princes in the north, and his general instructions were that the Prince must be kept in good humour, that there should be no spasmodic or ill-advised taxation of the people, that the Prince's army should be maintained in efficient condition, and, above all, that the resident must take care to avoid giving the impression that there was any intention on his part to dominate the situation. Whatever counsel he found it important to give was to be presented as a suggestion.

I imagine that such a responsibility has been shared by hundreds of "resident advisers" throughout the British Empire, and as far as we can judge the history, these young Englishmen have shown themselves men of tact, discretion, and courage. If the British Empire, particularly during the last century, has been well ruled, the success has been due in the main to capable, fine-natured youngsters who have gone out with the right kind of college training and who have rapidly developed under responsibilities often exacting.

Evelyn Abbott. On one of my earlier visits to Balliol College, my attention was directed to a Bath chair which was being drawn across the quad and in which rested a distinctive and attractive figure. I was impressed by the strength and majesty of the lines of the head and the beauty, dignity, and expression of the eyes and brow. The beautiful great head was placed on massive shoulders but it was evident from the space occupied by the coverings that the lower portion of the figure was shrunken and

crippled. The expression of the face was, however, not such as one may often see associated with permanent or with continued invalidism. It was quietly and cheerfully philosophical. The man in the chair appeared to be taking in from the world about him and from the universe all that there was to get and to be devoting to the life that was available for him his own best thought and will power. I learned that the beautiful cripple was Evelyn Abbott, a history Don of Balliol. Later, I was interested in securing from Balliol friends the incidents of his career. Abbott had been an "honour" scholar in the college and had, at a comparatively young age, been elected a fellow. He was a well-built man with athletic powers and interests and had been an active member of the Alpine Club. During a vacation trip in Switzerland, he had with a few fellow-climbers devoted an afternoon to the ascent of an Alpine slope which presented no particular difficulties and with which, in fact, several of the party were already familiar. On their return, late in the afternoon, they were overtaken by an avalanche. The fall of snow and the momentum of the mass was not sufficient to overwhelm them or to carry them over the lower edge of the cliff. They were able while in large part buried in the snow to hold their position on the slope, but they did not find it possible to free themselves from the snow and they lay half buried through the long night. In the morning they were rescued in due course by a search party and were apparently not seriously injured by the exceptional exposure; but some time afterwards in the case of Abbott, paralysis set in with the result that his lower limbs became withered and useless. At the time I first met him he was about fifty-five years of age and had passed thirty years of his life on a sofa or in a Bath chair. He had not permitted these to be idle years. He had carried on work as one of the most successful of the history teachers in a college which was

at the front of historical teaching in England. He was also an important member of the administrative body in which his varied knowledge of affairs was of exceptional value. He held for years the office of librarian and was able, with a well-adjusted library chair, to make the rounds of the shelves and to give in the library instructions and suggestions for the reading of advanced pupils. He accepted a commission for carrying on the editorial supervision of a series of historical biographies that I had in course of publication entitled *Heroes of the Nations.* A large number of the contributors to this series were English scholars and the majority of these were graduates of the Oxford history school. Abbott's editorial work was characterized, as were all his personal relations, by keen conscientiousness, wide and varied information, perception of character, and unremitting patience. It seemed impossible to ruffle his imperturbability. The expression of his eyes and of his brow constituted in itself a lesson in patience and in something more than patience, the will power to control conditions.

He had strong convictions but I never heard from him an expression of opinion that touched upon bitterness. His oldest friend and closest associate in the college (and for that matter in the world) was Strachan-Davidson, who was at this time Dean of Balliol and who in 1910 became Master. Davidson was and is a man of fine nature and even temper, and notwithstanding his Scotch earnestness he was very ready to believe that the fellow who held a contrary opinion was entitled to sympathetic regard. Abbott's influence upon Davidson and upon all of his associates in the Balliol faculty was valuable not only for suggestion and co-operation, but for temper and atmosphere. This influence was with his students a beautiful force. Other instructors with possibly larger scholarship, or with a keener sense of humour, were more bril-

liant. No teacher in Balliol or in Oxford got a better hold on his pupils, and probably very few got as much out of their pupils, as did Abbott. He secured from the men, younger and older, an affectionate regard that amounted to enthusiasm.

In later years, at any time when it seemed difficult to endure with patience the "perversity of things" animate and inanimate, I have found help in the memory of the cheery and sweet philosophy of my friend Evelyn Abbott.

At the high table in the common room of Balliol College, the guests are, of course, not restricted to graduates of the college. Distinctive men from all parts of the Empire have found the Balliol common room an agreeable and interesting meeting place. It represents in my impression the most attractive scholarly circle that Great Britain can produce, and I take this opportunity of expressing a grateful appreciation of my privileges as a continuing guest. My chief acknowledgment in any reference to Balliol must, however, be made for the charming personal hospitality that has been extended to me during a long series of years by the present Master, J. L. Strachan-Davidson, who is now my oldest friend in Great Britain. The Master shows an exceptional tolerance in retaining an affectionate regard for a man whose views on a number of important matters, theology, British politics, the higher education of women, etc., he believes to be seriously heretical. Notwithstanding the Master's deferential courtesy and his extreme consideration for the feelings of the other fellow, it is very evident that his own opinions are held with full earnestness and firmness of conviction; but with a man like Davidson, difference of opinion is not permitted to interfere with a relation of friendship. I trust that I shall not have made an undue intrusion on the modesty of my friend in placing on record in this volume my feeling that he is not only a scholar of conviction and an executive

of large experience and infinite conscientiousness, but a high-minded, fine-natured gentleman and the best possible representative of a type that helps to make the reputation of Balliol, of Oxford, and of Britain.

Lincoln. My first relations with Lincoln College came through one of its alumni, my old-time friend, the Rev. Alfred Church. Alfred Church was a close associate of Hutton of the *Spectator*, and for nearly fifty years he was a steady contributor to the columns of that journal. His literary work, and all of his work, represented a full standard of conscientiousness and the best use of his learning and capacities. He had in his own day in Oxford won the Newdigate, and he had through all his life, and he was a hard-working vicar and rector and reviewer, maintained a high literary ideal.

In Lincoln College, I had the opportunity of listening to my good friend Warde Fowler, who was, I believe, at the time the most effective lecturer in Oxford. The first lecture that I heard was on Julius Cæsar and the contribution made by Cæsar to the organization of the Roman Empire. Fowler spoke without notes and with a grace of delivery and dramatic effectiveness which was exceptional for Oxford and for England. He did his hearers the compliment of being interested not only in his subject but in them, and he certainly succeeded in impressing upon them a good knowledge of the conditions which he was describing and a real picture of the man who was the great figure of his time. Fowler has always united thoroughness of scholarship with literary charm. His resignation a few years later of collegiate work was a great loss to Lincoln and to Oxford.

Queens. My introduction to Queens College was under the invitation of so good a representative of the college and of British scholarship as Professor Sayce. The evening was a pleasant one for myself, but I recall that

it was attended with some annoyance for my host. He had, it seems, on the day in question experienced two misfortunes. He had been kicked by a mule, and his latest book had been reviewed, and unfavourably reviewed, by a literary worker whom we may call C. D. His friends in the common room were condoling with him on the two misfortunes, and one suggested that it would have been better for him to have arranged to be kicked by C. D. and reviewed by the mule, a suggestion that Sayce, with his decided view as to the mulishness of this particular reviewer, was prepared to accept.

Later, I came into pleasant relations with another good scholar, who was for many years bursar of the college, Edward Armstrong. Armstrong has made himself an accepted authority on the history of Italy and of Spain, and is the author of books which unite assured scholarship with literary charm. There have been times in Queens (as in fact a few other of the colleges of both universities) when the bursars have found perplexity with their balance sheets. I was told once on a visit to Queens that a recent fire which had destroyed some rooms in the college had broken out over the bursar's office and was supposed to have been due to the "over-cooking" of his accounts.

During one of my annual visits to Oxford, I was sent for by Dr. Magrath, of Queens, who was at that time Vice-Chancellor of the University. The Vice-Chancellor was giving consideration with his associates to some plans for making Oxford more attractive to graduate students from American universities. He understood that the larger number of these American graduate students took their European work in Germany. His question was, "How shall Americans of the right sort be attracted to Oxford?" He told me that he was applying to as many Americans as he could get hold

of for suggestions on the problem from their several points of view. I had myself very little direct knowledge of the conditions under which in the year in question American students were sent abroad for university work. I did recall that in my own student years, which went back to 1860–61, the Americans whom I had met in Göttingen and in other German universities had emphasized the hospitable facilities extended by the German university authorities to foreign students. The matriculation requirements were moderate and students were permitted to take special courses very much as they found convenient. I was not myself familiar with the conditions, or with all the conditions, of matriculation for Oxford colleges, or as to the facilities that might be extended for university work for students who did not want to take college courses. I had had the impression, however, dating back possibly to my reading of *Verdant Green*, that the matriculation examinations included certain ecclesiastical requirements, such, for instance, as a knowledge of the "Seven Churches of Asia," etc. My word to Dr. Magrath was a confession that I had no expert knowledge on the subject-matter, but that Americans generally wanted to be permitted to do things in their own way, and that the more it might be found practicable to meet this general desire, the more Americans would be tempted to take work in Oxford and in Cambridge. This conversation was some years in advance of the establishment of the Rhodes scholarships. It is my understanding from talking with the Rhodes students from America that they have found, or that the most of them have found, excellent opportunities for study of the right kind, and that the reports spread by them after their return to the States have had the result of attracting from year to year a larger number of Americans to Oxford. It is probable that Oxford is better known to the outer world,

particularly to Americans, than is the sister university. It is difficult to say why unless it be that English writers in referring to English university work are more apt to use Oxford as a text than Cambridge.

All Souls. The circle of students who make up the community of All Souls has been described, and with justice, as constituting the pleasantest club in Great Britain. My earliest host in the All Souls circle was the stalwart historian, Charles W. C. Oman, and I owe to Oman acknowledgments for a long series of annual hospitalities. My historical friend comes, if I remember rightly, from the Orkney Islands. He recalls in his own person the Norse type— a stature of over six feet, a fresh complexion, blue eyes, hair with the curl to it that indicates sturdy vitality, and with an energy that sometimes becomes an aggressiveness of manner but that cannot conceal the real sweetness of nature of the man. Professor Oman is classed as an historian and his historical work covers various fields of research. He is also, however, an authority on military science, on numismatics, and I do not know how many things beyond. In later years, he has had associated with him in All Souls and in his military interests my good friend Spencer Wilkinson. If I remember rightly, Wilkinson first came to the front as a military critic in his analysis of the campaigns of the Boer War, but he has for years been accepted as the best authority in Great Britain on the operations of war, and I believe that the professorship of military history was created in Oxford for the purpose of enabling Wilkinson to continue his researches and to put into shape conclusions that should prove of service not only to his students but to the whole country.

At the time when Wilkinson began his work as professor of military history, England had not yet realized, notwithstanding the predictions and the earnestly re-

peated counsel of Lord Roberts and others, how urgent the need would be not only for students in Oxford, but for citizens throughout the entire realm, to secure full knowledge of military conditions. It is undoubtedly true that the teachings of men like Oman and Wilkinson have proved of essential service in helping Great Britain under the stress of war to organize measures of national defence.

As a guest of All Souls, I had the honour of being reintroduced from year to year to the great jurist, Sir William Anson, who for many years presided over the college as Warden. The Warden possessed to the full the reserve which characterizes the English gentleman, but he was very much of a gentleman, and I found myself as the years went on coming into closer personal relations with him and holding him in increasing regard. The last time that I saw Sir William, he was good enough to carry me off after the hall dinner (he disliked smoke and evidently preferred quiet intercourse to the hubbub of the larger common room) to the study in his own house, where I had the privilege of an hour or more of personal talk. I found myself impressed with his large-minded patriotism and his readiness to give due consideration to the views of his political opponents. Anson was very much of a conservative, one might perhaps say a Tory, but he was a large enough man to realize, as England is realizing in this war of 1915, that all phases of patriotism and all points of view are needed for the service of the state. Among other scholars on the All Souls staff, I may recall my friend Robertson, whose historical researches, important as they are, have, according to rumour, not so far absorbed him as to prevent him from securing under a *nom de plume* success in another division of literature.

The historical circle in the college secured an important addition some years back in the election on the foun-

dation of Professor Firth, the scholarly Yorkshireman whose name is known throughout the British Empire and the world as the special authority on the Cromwellian period. With the name of Firth must be associated that of my good friend H. W. C. Davis, who has divided his responsibilities between Balliol and All Souls, and whose capable work as a scholar, and clear-headed practical service as an executive, are bringing to him from year to year increasing repute.

I have had the opportunity more than once of looking over in the All Souls common room the famous betting book, the entries in which go back to the eighteenth century. I do not know that the scholars of All Souls have more of the gambling instinct than is possessed by those of the other colleges, but this record shows that the questions that arise from week to week in the common room have for more than a century given occasion for bets. It is fair to say that the bets have from the earlier years been increasingly modest in amount, just sufficient to emphasize or to back up the certainty with which the opinion has been held.

I remember striking an entry made in June, 1815, a few days after the battle of Waterloo. A. wagered B. that Napoleon (whose whereabouts was for some time unknown) had gone to join the army of the Loire, an army which proved to be but a mythical body.

B. is not content to risk a guinea to contravert A.'s guess, but puts down another guinea in support of the opinion that Napoleon has gone to surrender himself to the English. A week later, the two bets are marked settled, with the news of the arrival of Napoleon on the *Bellerophon*.

I was interested in another entry in 1854, in which A. records an opinion to the value of five shillings, to the effect that within ten days' time they will hear that the

British had been assaulted in their position and had been roughly handled. Within the ten days comes the news of the battle of Inkerman. The Russians had, under the cover of fog, risked an assault on the British lines which would have proved very serious for an army that was not made up of as tough fighting material. The fog prevented, for a time at least, any leadership of the troops, but the men managed in their own way to fight the Russians back from the plateau to "where they belonged."

I had the annoyance of causing one of my hosts the loss of five shillings or two shillings and six pence on a bet that turned upon an American subject. A. had wagered B. that the author of *Moby Dick* and the author of *Kaloolah* were the same person. I put the question, in looking at this entry, whether a guest had the right to give information in regard to such an issue. "Certainly," said my host, "if he knows anything about it," and he called to his antagonist from across the room: "Here, Putnam says that he knows about this author of mine." Putnam was obliged to take the ground that there were two authors to be considered, Herman Melville and W. S. Mayo. The Putnam firm had been publishers for both and my word was, therefore, accepted as authoritative.

Christ Church and Frederick York Powell. One of my earliest friends in Oxford was Frederick York Powell, who was for many years Senior Scholar of Christ Church and who, at the time of his death in 1906, held in the University the position of Regius Professor of History. I first came into relations with him in connection with a series of volumes on "English History as Recorded by Contemporary Writers" that Powell had undertaken to edit and which was to be published in London by Nutt and in New York by Putnam. I say "undertaken to edit" because as a fact Powell's work as editor did not go much further than the planning of the volumes and a certain

supervision of the text. It proved to be so difficult to secure from the so-called editor within any reasonable time the attention required for the editorial work, that the final preparation of the material for the press had to be confided to other hands.

Powell was a real scholar, possessing an exceptional range of knowledge, and his keen perceptions and fertile imagination rendered his counsel and suggestions in scholarly matters, and particularly in historical undertakings, always interesting and often very valuable. If another worker, friend, acquaintance, or even stranger, had a troublesome task on hand, Powell was unselfishly ready to place at his disposal a wealth of scholarly information. The instant, however, he had himself entered into an engagement or accepted any responsibility, the task became irksome and the subject distasteful. Then came postponements, delays, excuses. At the very time when he was explaining to an impatient publisher the impossibility of completing a commission for which a payment was awaiting him, he would be giving hours of unpaid-for co-operation to some undertaking for which he had no responsibility whatsoever.

Powell was English by birth and education, but his father had been a Welshman and he appeared to have inherited a full measure of what we think of as Celtic qualities, including a great capacity for generosity and for free-handed service and a keen aversion to the fulfilment of an obligation. A promise meant a bond, and for a free-born Celt a bond was an oppression, an indignity, something to be rebelled against.

The historical series did not prove successful from a business point of view, but it rendered to the American publisher the great service of bringing him into friendly relations with a lovable and interesting character whom I came to hold in affectionate regard. While Powell was

not only critical but fiercely denunciatory of my own opinions and general method of thought, he took a personal liking to me and I received a standing invitation to occupy, whenever I might be free to visit Oxford, the spare room in the pleasant quarters in Christ Church where for many years Powell carried on his work under the old-fashioned appellation of "Senior Scholar."

Undeterred by my first experience of Powell's editorial methods, I had a year or two later persuaded him to enter into an agreement for the preparation of a life of Alfred the Great, on whose period Powell was an authority. This agreement was in force, that is to say, in existence, for no less than twelve years, and in returning to Oxford from May to May, the publisher naturally demanded a report of progress. "What! You troublesome Yankee! You persistent, pestiferous, pernicky, publishing Putnam! You here again? Why! we got rid of you only yesterday. The Alfred? Well, there's not much to say about that book! I really believe I might manage to finish it in two long vacations, but I cannot begin it this year. I promised to help B. with some Clarendon Press work and I am thinking of a trip to Iceland with Vigfusson and—there are other things in the way," etc.

There were always "things in the way" with work that was under contract. The book had been planned by me with reference to the commemoration of the millenary of Alfred's birth, but the market was promptly "occupied" with biographies prepared by other wiriters who, if less authoritative in knowledge, had a better realization of publishing requirements. At the close of the twelfth year, I brought the contract to Christ Church and made a solemn holocaust of it over the study fire. "Now," said my Celt, with one of his cheery and irresistible laughs, "there is no longer anything to make trouble between

friends. I may even write for you a life of Alfred"; but he never did.

With all his learning and industry, Powell never produced any original work of importance, and it is only in the minds of his students and intimates that the memory will be preserved of the erudition, the keen insight, the warm sense of humour, and the wide and sympathetic range of intellectual interests possessed by this exceptionally perverse and impracticable man. When I was sojourning with Powell, I attemped from time to time to help his faithful scout to keep him up to his engagements for the day. I would remind him of a committee meeting or the promise he had given for a lunch or a reception. "Oh, bother the people," he would exclaim, "I'll take a walk with you instead. Even a Yankee is better than a reception."

Powell's name was associated with one noteworthy undertaking of scholarship that really was brought to completion. He had from an early time interested himself in Scandinavian literature and had become an authority on the Sagas of Norway and Iceland. He was instrumental in having a place made in Oxford for the Icelandic scholar, Vigfusson, and, in co-operation with Vigfusson, he produced the *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, a work of distinctive importance and value. The persistency and patience of the Icelander, for whom Powell had an affectionate regard, succeeded in securing from his brilliant and erratic coadjutor the concentrated attention required during years of arduous labour to bring the great task to completion.

As a lecturer, Powell was nervous and ineffective. He apparently had difficulty, when on his feet, in shaping into the proper phrases the thoughts which crowded his active brain. He was at his best in talking across his study table to a small group of seminar students. He was as

ready and as interested in pouring forth information for the benefit of a couple of youngsters, or even of a single hearer, as for a class. He was absolutely regardless of personal prestige or even of the natural expectations and responsibilities attaching to his post as professor. "Why should I care what people think?" was his word. I believe he was absolutely free from vanity, and it never would have occurred to him to save up for an important audience a witty utterance or a brilliant thought.

I recall an hour in Powell's study when over a midnight pipe he gave to two hearers the story of a voyage of a Viking ship. He described the building and the equipment, the character and the manner of the collection and arrangement of the stores, the weapons and the armour. He told us how the warriors were brought together, and he pictured the parting from the wives, the children, and the old folks. As the ship started out from the inland fiord on her way to some unfortunate town on the coast of France, the narrative fell (quite unconsciously, I believe) into the first person. The don of Christchurch was transformed into a pirate chief and he looked the part. His fine stature, blue eyes, curly hair (typical of a Viking's vitality), ruddy complexion, deep voice, and cheery laugh, all fitted well into the rôle. The pirate carried his crew triumphantly to the mouth of the Seine, captured and sacked the unfortunate settlement, buried his dead, killed (for their own sake) those of the wounded who could not recover, and sailed back in triumph to the home fiord. There, after a glorious welcome, the chief apportioned with strict impartiality the spoils and the few captives for whom space had been found. I came away well after midnight feeling that I had listened to a real Saga told as it were, by the warrior himself.

Norseman, scholar, gentleman, brilliant wit, and genius, perverse, inconsequent, a man to be valued for his per-

sonality rather than for his achievements, York Powell will be known only by those with whom he had to do, but by those he can never be forgotten. He had impressed upon them his exceptional individuality and he had won their lasting affection.

New College. My earlier association with New College was through that distinguished scholar and fine-natured man Dr. Hastings Rashdall, whom I had first come to know in Balliol. His *History of European Universities* is a work that belongs to the world's literature. It was a decided loss to Balliol when with the appointment for certain university work, Rashdall found it necessary to transfer himself to New College, but this is one of the losses that a college like Balliol, producing men who are wanted for special work elsewhere, must from time to time accept. It had a similar loss a year or two back in the transfer to Magdalen, as a result of his appointment as Professor of Philosophy, of so typical a Balliol don as J. A. Smith.

I received hospitality from year to year in New College from the courteous and genial dean, Matheson, and I came to know in the college—I think first as an undergraduate—one of the younger men who has since come to the front as belonging to the first group of English historians, H. A. L. Fisher. I recall a tennis contest; I think it was while Fisher was still an undergraduate, in which Logan Pearsall-Smith, an American studying in Balliol, and myself challenged A. L. Smith, a history don of Balliol, and Fisher, of New, to an international match. Pearsall-Smith and myself were fortunate enough to pull the match off, although it was fought so sharply that before the games were completed A. L. Smith had used up his tennis shoes completely and was doing his last fighting in his stockinged feet. I imagine that there must have been later in the day a wifely reprimand for the "footless"

don. Pearsall-Smith threatened, in the joy of our victory, to put the American flag up over the dome of Radcliffe, but the plan was never carried out. I came into relations later with Fisher after the death of my good friend, his brother-in-law, Professor Maitland. Fisher had charge of Maitland's papers, and it was under his editorial supervision that Maitland's latest volumes were produced by the Cambridge Press in England and by G. P. Putnam's Sons in New York. I do not know how far my energetic young friend from New may have kept up his tennis, but his reputation as an historical scholar has steadily widened, and at this time of writing, he is winning fresh prestige for himself and for his old-time colleges, Balliol and New, as Vice-Chancellor of the University of Sheffield.

Married Fellows. Congregation. Kriegs-Spiel. At the time of my first visits to Oxford in the seventies, the married fellow was still the exception. The high table and the common room had during the term a full attendance of the fellows, and there was little to divert the interest of these dons from the work and the interests of their college. In later years, there has been a change which, from the point of view of the college, has an element of sadness. The high table, excepting on function days, is apt to be very nearly deserted. I have had a friend say to me with emphasis: "Putnam, you must dine with me tonight, otherwise I shall be all alone at the high table." A large portion of the dons are now to be found in pleasant cottages in "Donopolis" in the north end of Oxford, playing tennis with their youngsters, or perhaps the younger man whom one looks up, after inquiring in vain in the college quad, will be encountered in the park with the baby in the "push buggy." I believe I am myself responsible for the introduction into Oxford of this term as an equivalent for the perambulator or "pram." In reply to an inquiry of some Oxford lady as to the American

name for the article, I had said rather hurriedly (I really could not recall for the moment the proper term), "push buggy." A year or two later, I found that this term had come into quite general use in Oxford, and it was quoted to me with the explanation "you will realize, Mr. Putnam, that this is an Americanism." I felt somewhat contrite, but the mischief was done.

I recall a famous debate twenty odd years ago at the Union, where there has, through the centuries, been very good debating and where the future statesmen of England secure their first training in thinking on their feet, on the question as to whether or not the marriage of fellows had been a detriment to the University. By a very close vote of two or three only in a large house the decision was given in favour of the wives. I remember telling the lady with whom I was dining that evening that she had narrowly escaped being packed out of Oxford with bag, baggage, and children, leaving her don to return to the college free from any interests or temptations that would divert him from college duties.

I think it was some time in the nineties that I was given the privilege (probably contrary to all precedents and regulations) of being present at a meeting of Convocation, the assembly of fellows which is charged with the adjustment of university business. For business of a certain character, it becomes necessary under the old-time regulations to call a meeting of Convocation which includes non-resident as well as resident members of the University. The routine matters are passed upon by Congregation, made up of the fellows in residence. The question under discussion during the hour of my presence had to do with the disposition to be made of certain statues of very ancient date, which at that time adorned (more or less) the roof of St. Mary's Cathedral church. These statues could be seen but dimly from the pavement below,

but according to legend they represented art work which was both ancient and important. Their supports had become weakened through the action of the weather and one of the group (there may have been a dozen or more in all) had actually fallen from the roof of the church onto the sidewalk of the High. It was rumoured that it had just missed one of the aldermen of the city. At all events, a sharp protest came from the mayor and council, with the word that the University would be held responsible for any injury that might be caused to life, limb, or property on account of the decrepit condition of these statues on the university church. It was the impression of the first speakers that however saintly were the lives that had been commemorated, the statues had fulfilled their purpose and that as works of art they were not very important. It would, it seemed, be wisest to take them down and put them in a place of safety. William Morris, the poet, made an impassioned protest against any such utilitarian course of action. "The statues," said Morris, "connect us with the past; they represent for us the earliest traditions of the University. Their proper position is where they had originally been placed, watching over the church and through the church caring for the fortunes of the University." Morris made light of the peril to citizens or to aldermen. He contended that rather than to treat iconoclastically these precious monuments, representations of its old-time art and ancient traditions, Oxford could spare one or two aldermen, or even if chance would have it, the mayor himself. Morris was, however, voted down and within the next week or two the statues were lowered from the roof of the church to the inner courtyard. When the precious monuments were placed against the church where they were in full view, it was difficult to associate them with ancient art or with art of any kind whatever. They were weather-beaten torsos, with hardly

anything left either of feature or of limb. It took as much imagination as the Marchioness of Dickens gave to her water and lemon peel to make believe it was punch, to recall through these statues the early history of Oxford University.

One of the institutions in Oxford which has during these years of war come again to attention was the Kriegs-Spiel Club, organized some twenty years or more back by my friend Oman. Oman had succeeded in instilling some of his own military interests into a sufficient group of dons to enable the game to be played with all the precision of the German rules. I had been told in Berlin that proficiency in Kriegs-Spiel was an essential requirement for promotion on the German staff. I attended one meeting of the club, serving as an aid to Oman, who had shaped the problem and who was acting as umpire. According to the routine, the contestants were carrying on the two sides of their campaign in different rooms, and I took from room to room the reports of the movements decided upon. Each party had the same map and his half of the problem. One force, reported as the smaller, was to defend Oxford, for a term of forty-eight hours, and during that term to maintain open the road of connection with London. If the besieging force, however, should succeed within the forty-eight hours in entering the city, or in placing itself securely across the line of connection to London, victory rested with the besiegers. The forty-eight hours of the imaginary campaign were for the purposes of the game consolidated into two hours of actual time. The assailant of Oxford was an elderly professor of theology, and a more blood-thirsty theologian I never met. He was perfectly ready to sacrifice any number of his troops for the smallest gain, real or imaginary. The defendant was a canny young historian who watched not only the position, but the resources that he had available

for its defence. I remember taking to the commander of the besieging force the report that "at this point you are held up under an open flank fire from protected guns, and these troops of yours will be ruled off as dead." "God bless my soul," said the professor; and then, after a moment's hesitancy, "do you not think, Major, that it might be useful if I sacrificed a brigade at this point? Would not the enemy gather in that way an exaggerated impression of my attacking force?" I declined to give him advice on the matter, and in fact, being merely a messenger, I had no business to give any counsel at all. The professor moved forward his brigade and the umpire promptly pronounced it dead. At the end of two hours, which covered the forty-eight hours allotted to the campaign, the umpire decided that, while the blood-thirsty theologian had succeeded in getting his troops up to the line of the London pike, by the time they were planted on the road, there were practically no men left, and the victory was, therefore, adjudged to the canny young historian who had defended Oxford.

It is quite possible that at this time (July, 1915) my historical friend is using his good judgment and patriotism for service in a real campaign. I may only wish him Godspeed and a safe outcome.

CHAPTER IX

Cambridge

Pembroke. I was introduced to Pembroke College some time in the eighties as the guest of Leonard Whibley. Whibley unites the qualifications of fine scholarship, particularly in Greek subjects, with those of a clear-headed man of business. He had some years' experience as a publisher, which gave special value to his service later, as one of the Syndics of the University Press. Through Whibley, I came to know R. A. Neil and Edward G. Browne, with whom my relations became intimate, Prior, Hadley (the present Master), and the other members of an attractive and evidently effective group of scholars. Neil had an extra set of rooms which he placed at my disposal and which I had the privilege of occupying during annual visits extending over a long series of years; and I came to be accepted as a kind of honorary member of the combination room.

Neil's spare rooms had for a number of years been the home of the astronomer Adams; and the scrapbooks containing his calculations were still on the shelves of the study. I found myself once at least dreaming that I had discovered Neptune and that I was pointing it out to the astronomer-royal. I can even recall a quizzical expression on the face of the planet as if he were saying, "There is no help for it; I am discovered at last."

My host Neil was one of the recognized scholars of the University and was an authority on Sanscrit. The hours available for his own studies were, however, seriously curtailed by his conscientious and sympathetic devotion to his students and by the attention he felt called upon to give (he was through the greater part of these years senior tutor) to the details of the administration of the college. In an earlier chapter, I have expressed my surprise that the work of an English college should not be so regulated as to leave some assured time for the research work of men whose scholarly labours would be valuable for the college and for the world at large. I could not find that there was during the weeks of term any "close time" for the dons. My host could not be persuaded "to sport his oak," even when he was playing chess with me. I would find him giving evening hours, that ought to have been his own for study or for rest, to the checking of exeats or buttery bills—work that could, as far as I was able to judge, have been adequately cared for by a forty-shilling-a-week clerk.

"It is important, Putnam," Neil would explain, "that I should keep track of the expenditures of the young men." Neil was a North Briton and his Highland accent gave to his speech a quaintness of tone and a warmth of colour that I found fascinating. He had an exceptionally fine and delicate nature, and he was to me and to others of his circle a loyal and sympathetic friend. In politics, both national and university, Neil was a strong liberal. He was, for instance, a cordial supporter of higher education for women, with the logical conclusion that a woman who did the necessary work ought to secure the evidence of the same in the shape of a university degree. But he was conservative enough in regard to details to insist upon retaining in the Pembroke court the foot-breaking flint pebble walks which in other colleges had been re-

placed by smooth flags. Neil died young, a great loss to Pembroke, to Cambridge, and to a circle of loving friends.

I recall a June evening when we had at the high table, in addition to the full group of resident fellows, some outsiders, mainly youngsters, who had been out of college and had returned for a visit. The conversation turned on the political leaders of the day, and someone risked the prophecy that Joseph Chamberlain, at that time Secretary for the Colonies, was the coming man, and that he would in the near future become the head of her Majesty's Government. It was my practice to avoid taking part in an English political conversation unless called upon for an opinion. But Neil, who was at the head of the table, called across to me: "What do you Americans think of Joe Chamberlain? You must know something about him. He has been on your side more than once and has married an American woman." I replied that I would not undertake to speak for Americans as a whole, but that the group to which I belonged did not like Mr. Chamberlain. We did not trust him. He did not impress us as a gentleman and we felt that he had married above him in securing an Endicott of Massachusetts. "Britain," I continued, "has often been ruled with stupidity. (Here there was a growl of dissent from some of my auditors.) But it has always been ruled by gentlemen; and I do not myself believe it will ever accept Chamberlain as Prime Minister."

One of the youngsters, evidently an enthusiast for Chamberlain, here broke in: "You Yankees don't like Chamberlain because he is too sharp for you. You can't 'do' Joe Chamberlain." "You are speaking under a misapprehension," I rejoined. "We Yankees have no business with her Majesty's Colonial Secretary. Since 1776, our dealings are carried on with the Department of

Foreign Affairs." The youngster looked puzzled, and it was evident that his history did not make clear to him the nature of the events of 1776. Neil, who was no admirer of Chamberlain, was chuckling over the opinion drawn out from his Yankee friend, and it was my impression that the majority of those present were in accord with my view.

To Professor Edward G. Browne, I may venture here but a brief reference. One may not bring into print an analysis of relations with a dear friend who is living, and Browne is, I am glad to remember, very much alive. Browne is one of the great Oriental scholars of England and of Europe, and is accepted as the special authority on Persia and on the faith of the Babis. He has been the sturdy defender of the independence of Persia, an independence that may, I judge, be seriously menaced whatever may be the results of the present war. All of Browne's opinions are held sturdily and are maintained even with fierceness, but it is fair to remember that they are based upon an enormous and exceptional knowledge. With his humour and aggressiveness, he was the life of the rather sedate Pembroke combination room, and it was a personal loss to the circle when Browne joined the increasing ranks of married fellows and established his home on the Trumpington Road. Those who have the privilege of knowing the professor's wife are, however, able to understand the irresistible attractiveness of the inducement.

Trinity. It has not been my good fortune to have many friends in the great circle of Trinity College. I have had the honour of an introduction to the Master and have been his guest on one of the Sunday gala evenings at the great high table, at which in successive years have been gathered a series of distinguished guests.

I happened to be in Cambridge (it would not be polite to the lady to say how many years back) the June in

which Miss Ramsay, now Mrs. Butler, received her degree. The daughter of a Scotch professor, she had received first-class classical training in Edinburgh, and had made a distinctive success in Oxford. In fact for the year in question, she was not only in the first class in classics, but she was the only occupant of that class. I recall a picture in the *Punch* of the day in which is presented a view of a railroad station and a long train with the first carriage marked "for ladies only," and an attractive young person, an excellent representation of Miss Ramsay, with her hand on the carriage door. The men who were concerned with the train were streaking off to the second- and third-class carriages beyond. A year or more after the marriage, being again in Cambridge, I happened to inquire whether Mrs. Butler was keeping up her classical studies. "I understand she is," was the reply, "and that she is now kept busy in the preparation of a crib for Herodotus." Miss Ramsay had edited for college use some of the books of Herodotus, and the name of the old Greek historian had by the Trinity students been applied to her first boy. I hope the "crib" proved satisfactory.

I came to know in Trinity a clever undergraduate, George Macaulay Trevelyan, who has since made his name as an author and as a publicist. He is a man whose friendship I value, and I may not venture to analyse either his character or his work. I can but feel, however, as if his series of books on Garibaldi constituted a prose epic. It has hardly been equalled, if at all equalled, in English literature. The literary style of George impresses me as more effective than that of his great uncle. It is always dramatic, but it is free from the wearisome antithesis that sometimes mars the clever portraiture of Macaulay. George is a good example of a historian who possesses not only the dry-as-dust thoroughness of the German, but the dramatic literary quality of the Celt or

Frenchman. He told me that he had been over every foot of ground in Italy that had been traversed by his hero Garibaldi in his various campaigns, that which culminated in the siege of Rome, those which had to do with the war of fifty-nine and the final great triumph which resulted in the capture of Palermo and the overthrow of the kingdom of Sicily. This precision for detail has, however, not been permitted to stand in the way of the shaping of a narrative that is as dramatic as if it had been produced for a moving-picture show.

George Trevelyan's clever wife, a distinguished scholar and the daughter of Mrs. Humphry Ward, permits me from summer to summer to continue in their pleasant cottage in Bucks a contest over the chessboard.

I should not leave the Trinity court without a reference to my old-time friend, Dean Cunningham, who has more than once extended to me pleasant hospitality and who has been specially considerate of the requirements of one of my scholarly daughters. My only issue with Cunningham is that he persists, trained economist as he is, in espousing the cause of Chamberlain and the theory that the British Empire could be bound together by a tariff system.

I expressed the wish at one time that the Chamberlain group might have come in for a lease of power (which would have been but a brief lease), if only for the purpose of giving to Cunningham, Ashley, and the other scientific advisers of the party the opportunity of tackling their big problem. To make a tariff that should not interfere with the price of food or manufacturing material in Great Britain and that should at the same time satisfy the Colonists, was a task that would, I believe, have gone beyond any ability either of the scholars or of the political leaders in the group.

Downing. My relations with Downing came through

the well-known historian Professor F. W. Maitland, one of the great men of England and of the world, whose life was cut short altogether too soon. The photograph that I now have before me recalls his fine-cut features and far-searching eyes, and recalls also, sadly enough, the lack of support of the cheek-bone indicating the physical weakness that finally broke down his life. Maitland was one of the great scholars—and there are not too many—who was so imbued with his scholarship that it came from him as natural speech, and his natural speech was that of a man who possessed literary quality and dramatic force. Maitland was able, when in conversation or on his feet in the lecture room, so to present some scrap of mediæval parchment that the whole transaction chronicled by the ancient script came into life before his hearers. He was able to make the dead bones live and to recall to his students the actual personalities of the men of the earlier days whose methods of life and of law he had chronicled.

I remember an act of kindness on his part (and he was always ready with acts of kindness) to my historical daughter who needed some counsel in regard to fourteenth-century manuscripts. It was the year before Maitland's death and exertion constituted for him an effort. He had his hands full with the finishing of some work of his own; but a question of hers which showed that she knew what she was working at so far interested him that he was satisfied with nothing less than devoting two hours with her in the library for the purpose of steering her through certain sources which were to be collated and considered. Maitland's early death, due apparently in large part to the impossible Cambridge climate, was a misfortune to England and to the world.

Maitland possessed not only an admirable style, but a most charming and forcible way of expression on his feet. He was a graceful and at times an eloquent speaker.

His speech always represented full information, clearness of arrangement, earnestness of conviction, a lightness of touch and sense of humour which may perhaps be considered as exceptional among English speakers. He was a most valuable worker in Cambridge in the Congregation of the University and in other circles in behalf of degrees for women. He felt keenly the injustice of giving to women facilities for doing first-class work as students and of failing to let them have the ordinary recognition of the results accomplished in this work.

Emmanuel College. With Emmanuel College, I had but one personal association. I had met the Master, Dr. William Chawner, under the guidance of my friend Neil, of Pembroke, and impressed with Neil's pleasant word about his Yankee friend, the Master had invited me to dine with him the following night at Emmanuel. The afternoon before the dinner, I was taking a quiet bicycle ride in the outskirts and found myself driven into a ditch in order to avoid utter destruction by a speeding cyclist who issued, without bell or warning, from a lane at right angles to the main road on which I was innocently travelling. As I picked myself up from the ditch, the cyclist, without stopping his furious gait, turned to see whether I was still alive, and I identified the characteristic head of Chawner, but he, in his haste, had failed to get as good a view of his victim. Sitting at his right in the evening, I said something about exercising by cycle, and suddenly the recognition passed into his face. "What," he said, "Mr. Putnam, you were the man that I nearly rode over this afternoon; I pray now to tender my very sincere apologies. The fact is that I was very much absorbed in something that I was thinking about and I had forgotten speed, cycle, road rules, and everything else. I am very glad indeed the mischief was no worse." It was easy to forgive a man as interesting as Chawner, and I was de-

lighted to have a word with him later in the evening in the combination room.

A year or two afterwards, I read with keen interest the letter from Chawner which fell like a bombshell among the college heads and the other protectors of Cambridge traditions. Chawner took the view that there was nothing in the constitution of the University, or in the constitution of Emmanuel College, which placed an obligation upon the head of the college to hold belief, or to accept belief, in the thirty-nine articles, or in certain other things belonging to the essential faith of the Church of England. He took the ground further that the first duty of a college head to his pupils was to inculcate a standard of strict veracity, and that any man who for one convenience or another maintained the form of a creed which he no longer held as a fact was not fit to be the instructor of youth, or the head of a college. The question was, of course, complicated in more ways than one. I had full sympathy with Chawner's intellectual position and the honesty of his utterance. I was able also, however, with some knowledge of college constitutions and requirements, to recognize that there rested upon the head of a college a kind of trust obligation to do nothing which would be likely to interfere with the foundations of the institution or to lessen its attractiveness for youngsters of the right kind. The issue presented by the Master of Emmanuel seemed to me to be very much of a divided duty. I wrote from New York a cordial letter of interest and sympathy.

I found myself much in doubt as to what the results of Chawner's utterance would be for himself, or for his college, or for the University. I think it probable that he would have found it necessary to resign. Shortly after the writing of my letter, he was, however, seized with an illness which proved to be fatal, and when I got to

Cambridge, I found that my letter had arrived after his death.

He was a noteworthy character and his manliness, his intellectual force, and his integrity of purpose ought to have been preserved for further years for the service of Emmanuel and of the University.

King's. I have often thought that if I were an English parent with a boy to spare for the university, and that if for any reason I could not make place for him in Balliol or in New in Oxford, I should send him to King's in Cambridge. The college has always impressed me as the model of what a scholarly community should be, and, as we all know, it has maintained through the generations, and in its connection with Eton, a high standard of scholarly work and of scholarly output. While I have had in King's no near friends, I have come into pleasant personal relations with men like Dr. Waldstein, an authority on Greek art, and on a good many matters besides, and with Oscar Browning, now retired, an industrious scholar in many divisions of history, and whose range included, also, certain departments of literature. Browning was then a man of enormous industry and intellectual ambition, and the only difficulty with him was that he would spread his energies out over too many subjects. He did fair work in a number of directions. As far as I know his long list of publications, he is however responsible for no single book that can really be called a great original contribution to its subject.

I remember his telling me once in his library, with a wave of his hand over his shelves, "Putnam, I can give you a book on any of those subjects." I understand that Browning, who has for some years been retired, was an excellent teacher, but I always felt that he did not have respect enough for literature as a profession, and that the failure of a high ideal had stood in the way of his achieving

a distinctive literary success. The undergraduates and his friends (and the circle of these was large) always referred to him affectionately as O. B., and his genial presence must have been very much missed from the circle of King's.

The man of most original intellectual force during the years in which I was in personal relations with the King's group was undoubtedly Lowes Dickinson, philosopher, political thinker, and satirist. The first book that brought Dickinson into the knowledge of the general public (in his college circle he had received early recognition as a man of original force) was the *Letters of a Chinese Official.* These criticisms of English life, written from the point of view of a Chinaman, were so excellent in their presentation that they for a time deceived even the elect, but they were finally acknowledged as belonging to the same class as Pascal's Letters and several other famous books of the same type. With the King's group, should also be mentioned that excellent historian Reddaway, who prepared, at my instance, for our *Heroes of the Nations* series, an authoritative study of Frederick the Great.

Christ's. My association with Christ's is in connection with the Darwins, a family which I consider as belonging to the nobility of Great Britain and of the world. I was first introduced to the college as the guest of George, later Sir George, Darwin, the well-known mathematician and physicist, at whose house I enjoyed for a series of years graceful hospitality. Later, I came into closer personal relations with the younger brother Francis, or Frank, the biographer of his famous father. I have heard it said that Frank possibly possessed the most original mind in the talented group of brothers. Apart from his intellectual force, which I, as an ignoramus, was not in a position to measure, I have during the years that have passed come to have an increasing affectionate regard for the

man. Here again I have the case of a friend who is so near and dear to me that I dare not undertake his description in print. Frank Darwin impresses me as typical of the best that there is in an Englishman—wise, well balanced, forcible, generous in spirit, exceptionally modest, clear-headed on questions of the day, always ready to do his part—and more than his part—in any service for the community, and possessing withal a charm of manner and sympathetic nature that makes him a most attractive friend and host. Of his brother Horace, also distinguished as a mathematician and maker of mathematical instruments, I have also the most attractive impression, but with him I have not had the privilege of a close association. It was only recently that my old friend Arthur Shipley has become Master of Christ's. I knew of Shipley as a scientist of original force and capacity, and as a man of exceptional geniality and good fellowship. For some reason the conception of Shipley as the head of a college had not occurred to me, but I found him carrying his headship with full dignity and, as I am told, with exceptional efficiency.

I cannot leave the subject of Cambridge without recording a word of appreciation of the charming hospitality extended to me through a series of years by Sir Richard and Lady Jebb. Lady Jebb possesses what may be called the social faculty. She knows how to bring together the right kind of guests and how to constitute a social unit when they are together. She possesses the natural touch for sympathetic relations with the people with whom she has to do. She is the kind of hostess one finds in Paris, and, it is necessary to admit, much less frequently in Great Britain. In England, there is excellent good-will on the part of thousands of charming hostesses, but the lightness of touch and the particular *savoir faire* which can organize a social unit is more

difficult to find. It is, therefore, fair to mention in this relation that Lady Jebb is an American. The only criticism I ever heard of her leadership in England was that it was not fair for an attractive American woman, possessing social position, social charm, and social influence, to bring over to England her attractive American nieces. There are, it is claimed, more than enough women in England to meet all present requirements. Sir George Darwin, however, took a different view of the matter and was fortunate enough to secure one of Lady Jebb's attractive nieces. I think a second niece was carried off by some other clear-headed Englishman.

Newnham and Degrees for Women. I made my first visit to Newnham College a year or two after the beginning of its work. The college was fortunate in the quality of the women who took hold of its management and has continued fortunate in the service that has been secured in the later years. I met, in the first place, Miss Clough, who had a personal interest in me because my father had in the early fifties given to her brother the first money that the young poet had been able to earn in New York, and had been of service to him in other ways. With Miss Clough, or later, I met Miss Gladstone, who possessed in full measure the dignity and the efficiency of her remarkable family.

My home in New York had always been the centre of activities connected with the higher education of women. My first wife had been one of the earlier college graduates in the country, and two of her daughters had done work in Bryn Mawr. My present wife is a graduate—it is not an exaggeration to say, a distinguished graduate—of the first Bryn Mawr class and has later rendered exceptional service to higher education in six years' work as Dean, (the first dean in the series) of Barnard College. She did not give up her work with Barnard until some time

after her marriage when she was able to report that Barnard had been accepted into full affiliation with Columbia University, so that graduates of Barnard were graduates of the University.

I found my friends in Newnham inquiring from year to year as to the progress of women's education in the United States, and hearing with some measure of envy that not only in the coeducational State institutions in the West, but in such universities as Columbia in the East, women had been able to secure full and formal recognition for such work as they had shown themselves competent to do as students. I may mention for the benefit of my American readers that while the students of Newnham and Girton in Cambridge, and Somerville, Lady Margaret, and St. Hughes in Oxford, are permitted to take university courses and to compete in university examinations, they secure at the close of their examinations not degrees, but simply certificates of proficiency. I recall one noteworthy example of such an unjust discrimination between the man student and the woman student. I was in the Senate House in Cambridge at the time the public orator was making announcement of the degrees. I was standing between Mrs. Fawcett, who was an old-time acquaintance, and her clever daughter Philippa, who had been doing work in the mathematical tripos. The orator calls out the name of the senior wrangler, say, A. B., and of the second, third, and fourth wrangler, and then with a later group of reports he comes to the women students. The first name on the list of these was that of Philippa Fawcett, recorded not only by the voice of the public orator, but by the reports of the press throughout England and the Empire, as standing four hundred marks above the senior wrangler; but Philippa could secure only a certificate. The girl was crying a little at her triumph, but the crowd was dense and we could not get away from our position in the gallery.

There came working his way through the crowd, first from the floor below, then up the stairs and along the gallery, a good-looking youngster who, at the time he reached us, had suffered so seriously from the friction of those whom he had pushed to one side that his coat had been torn into pieces and the fragments hung over his left arm. Unabashed, and with an English mixture of shyness and courtesy, he held out his hand to congratulate Philippa. It was the senior wrangler who had fought his way through the house in order to give greetings to the girl by whom he had been beaten. I thought myself it was a very pretty example of English manliness.

The University Press. For a series of years, G. P. Putnam's Sons have had the honour of being the American publishers for the Pitt Press of Cambridge, and we have esteemed it a privilege to associate the imprint of the House with a series of books which stand for the highest scholarship, more particularly, of course, for the highest scientific scholarship, of Great Britain. The barriers of national prejudices are still strong enough to interfere with a full exchange of literature and particularly of educational literature. England is suspicious of text-books or works claiming to possess scientific or scholarly authority, emanating from the western side of the Atlantic, and the United States, while much less prejudiced, needs some convincing in order to be made to understand that for certain classes of subjects the English books, and particularly those in the higher grades of school work, present material that cannot be secured, or that cannot be secured with the same thoroughness or excellence of workmanship, in America. We are able to report, however, that these Cambridge books are coming into increasing demand through all parts of the United States, and it is my conviction that such exchange of publications constitutes one of the most important of the links

that serve to bind together the intelligence, the sympathies, and the understanding of the two peoples. In placing American books in England and in utilizing an increasing quantity of English books in the United States, we are building up connections of thought and links of sympathy such as can never come into existence between two countries that do not work with the same language.

My first experience with the Press was under the management of the scholarly and nice-natured Dr. Wright; while our relations are now carried on, as far at least as Cambridge is concerned, with that excellent scholar, Mr. A. R. Waller. The only grievance that Waller's friends have against him is his practice of burning his candle at both ends. He will persist in doing work to maintain his position as an authority on English, and particularly on Elizabethan, literature, while at the same time undertaking to give attention to all kinds of business details, manufacturing methods, terms of sales, discounts, trade relations, etc., that ought never to be left in the hands of a working scholar. It is not that he does not do both things well, but no such diverse responsibilities should ever be carried by one man, or can be so carried without the risk of a physical break. Mr. Waller is too valuable for the Press, for the literary interests of England, and I may add for the personal comfort and convenience of the American correspondents of the Press, to be permitted to incur unnecessary risks of being overburdened.

The genial master of Peterhouse, T. Adolphus Ward, has been an important influence in the Press in more ways than one. His later, and perhaps most important, service has been given in editorial work (in co-operation with Mr. Waller) on the great *Cambridge History of English Literature*, a work the plan and the execution of which do credit to the enterprise, the executive ability, and the scholarly facilities of the group of Cambridge literary workers.

G. P. Putnam's Sons put in train in the year 1914 a scheme for a companion work, *The Cambridge History of American Literature*, which will round out the plan of the English undertaking, and will, we may hope, do something to make better known to students of literature not only the names but the relative importance of the work of the authors who have during the past one hundred and thirty years been building up what may now fairly be called an American literature.

CHAPTER X

Some English Friends

Clovelly. In 1881, I found myself, in company with my mother and my sister Amy, at the charming little village of Clovelly on the Devonshire coast. Clovelly is always referred to as one of the beauties of England, but forty years ago it was not so much of a resort as it has since become. The water-colour which my sister, who was clever with her brush, painted for me as a reminiscence of her visit shows the one steep little street coming up from the pier at the end of which stands the old inn, dating back to about 1200, past the "new inn" (which began a couple of centuries later), and extending perhaps a third of the way up the steep cliff towards the coaching road on the top. In the course of centuries (I judge that Clovelly never does things in a hurry), the village will probably climb to the top of the cliff. It must always, I suppose, be safe from the incursion of wheeled vehicles and of the special importation of the twentieth century, the auto-car; the little street is too narrow and too steep to give accommodation for anything larger in the matter of traffic than the small donkeys whose sharply shod little feet tinkle against the stones through the hours of day and night. This main street, the Broadway, Fifth Avenue, or Piccadilly of Clovelly, loses itself a few hundred feet from the beach in the kitchen of one of the cottages. The

house had either been cut through to allow space for the roadway or had been built on both sides of the roadway. The kitchen ceiling was just high enough to allow a donkey to pass if the rider were not very tall, and the household work went on without any reference to the passers-by.

My sister's sketch recalls also the magnificent fuchsias, which grew not in meagre pots as I had heretofore been acquainted with them, but in great masses over the roofs of the cottages.

At the time of my visit, Kingsley's second daughter, Mary, was living in Clovelly as the wife of the vicar, Mr. Harrison. I had brought a note of introduction from a literary friend in London and found Mrs. Harrison very ready to be civil to my mother and sister and interested in giving me full knowledge of the parish. I remember one afternoon's drive with her behind the vicar's donkey. The vicar was at the time absent in London and his wife was doing the parochial visiting. She told me that I should doubtless be mistaken for a new curate who had been impending but who had not yet been secured. It was, therefore, my duty, as she went into the cottage to give the proper ecclesiastical greeting to the old woman, to examine in their catechism the youngsters who stood about the door. I had once known the main provisions of the Church catechism, but at this time I found my memory somewhat hazy. I therefore compromised with the children by telling them wild American stories and I do not recall any objection on their part. It cost me, however, all the pennies in my pocket to make sure that the children should hold their peace and not give away the reputation of the vicarage through the frivolity of the vicar's guest.

After finishing the visitations in the parish, Mrs. Harrison drove me to a neighbouring parish where a school friend of hers, Mrs. Colonel S., was the lady of the manor.

S. Abbey was a beautiful old house rebuilt from the original abbey, which stood in the centre of an oval park. The park was surrounded by a great growth of old trees and from the abbey windows could be seen no other buildings excepting the beautiful little parish church, place for which had been found in one corner of the park. Mrs. S. was a good deal of an invalid and her school-fellow told me later one of the reasons for her sadness. It had been to her and also to the Colonel a continuing disappointment that there was no heir, and, in fact, no child. "In the history of the abbey, it is recorded," said Mrs. Harrison, "that when, under the dispossessing procedure of Henry Eighth, the monks were driven out, the abbot, the last of his line, turned at the entrance and invoked a curse on all who should occupy a building that was the property of the Lord. No son was to inherit land that belonged properly to the Church." It was the further story that the successive holders of the manor had not been able to hand down the property in any direct line. In the majority of cases no son was given, and when a son had been born, he managed to get out of the world before the time came for his inheritance. Colonel S. himself was, as Mrs. Harrison explained, the nephew of the previous lord of the manor. His wife, weakened by illness, was falling into melancholia and was feeling upon her the burden of the curse of the Church. She had even been pressing upon her husband the suggestion of giving the property back to the Church so that the family and the manor itself could be relieved of this curse of three centuries. The Colonel, with the natural pride and feeling of responsibility belonging to the descendant of a great family, had thus far been unwilling to take any such exceptional step.

He came in a little later and did very gracefully the honours of the abbey. He showed me among other things a series of family pictures which began with an S. of the

time of Richard the Lion-hearted who was pictured as spitting on his spear two Paynims at one blow. The last figure in the line was my host himself pictured as a good-looking ensign, carrying at Inkerman the colours of his regiment. The Colonel saw my eyes rest upon the athletic feat of his Palestine ancestor. "It is not necessary, Mr. Putnam, to believe everything that is chronicled about one's ancestors." He was here called upon by a messenger from an old woman who had charge of the hospital for his fowls, with the word that a highly valued guinea-hen, laid up with a broken leg, had managed to flutter away. He hurried off to recapture the hen and asked for my aid. The Colonel was very comfortably attired for the task of going over fields and into ditches, while I had on the only reputable suit that I happened to have with me. The hen was found after a thorough ransacking of the wettest ditches on the estate, and the old woman having been first scolded to tears and then recuperated with a half-crown, we returned to the abbey for a brush-down and for tea.

I hope that the Colonel may in his later years have been freed from the sadness of the melancholia of his wife and from having recalled to him the curse of the old abbot.

Bedford Park. In my visits to London in the early eighties, I came to know the community in Bedford Park, Chiswick. This suburban settlement had been instituted recently on grounds purchased for the purpose by a real estate syndicate, and special efforts had been made to attract into the community men who had literary or art interests. The houses constructed under the supervision of the managers of the estate were picturesque to look at, but I heard later from some of the earlier settlers that some of these houses represented a bad type of "jerry building" and were by no means comfortable to live in. The rents at the outset at least were low. The settlement

attracted in these earlier years men like Frederick York Powell, who while busy through the week in Christ Church, Oxford, made a week-end home at Bedford Park; James Sime, critic, historian, and student of philosophy; Moncure D. Conway, who at that time had charge of a very undenominational congregation in the east of London; Todhunter, the poet, and others who were, like these, men distinctive in character, in work, or in attainments.

Mr. and Mrs. Conway collected at their Sunday afternoon receptions interesting groups of visitors who would make their way from fairly distant points in and near London for the purpose of reaching a circle where they could exchange thought freely without restriction either denominational or conventional. On Sunday evenings, through a large part of the year, were gathered together at Sime's, or Todhunter's, or Conway's, a group, composed in the main of Bedford Park residents, who undertook in the course of a season's discussion to adjust the problems of the universe. I have the impression, writing forty-odd years later, that some of these problems still call for consideration.

I understand that Bedford Park has now changed its character. The earlier houses have been reconstructed and the later buildings represent a modern standard of comfort and of hygienic safety; but the literary and artistic character of the settlement has passed, and I am told that the community no longer takes upon itself the responsibility for steering the universe.

James Sime and John Fiske. I recall an excursion on the Thames on a pleasant June day, probably in the early eighties. The company comprised three Americans and one Scotchman, and we had taken a boat (without a boatman) for a day's enjoyment of a sunshine that is not so common in England in early June. It was the Scotchman James Sime who had the responsibility as host;

that is to say we had started after breakfast from his pleasant house in Bedford Park and we were to return there for supper. The Americans were John Fiske, Henry Holt, and myself.

Sime was a literary worker, a good historical scholar, a student of metaphysics (an interest that few intellectual Scotchmen escape), and a very good fellow, whose early death a year or two later brought sadness to a circle of much attached friends. Holt, the New York publisher, is referred to elsewhere in these pages. In these earlier years, he was, as he always has been throughout his life, a most genial and sympathetic companion. His mind was full of knowledge in various directions, and his opinions were always suggestive and individual, and often illuminating. Fiske was the only man of the four whose name is likely to live beyond his generation. He was already known for historical work which combines thoroughness of research, charm of literary form, and skill in characterization. It is probably by his volumes on American history that his fame will be preserved. It is my impression, however, that his personal ambitions were more closely bound up with his philosophical studies and that such a volume as the *Idea of God*, standing as it did for an expression of his most personal and carefully thought-out ideas, is the book by which he hoped he would remain known in the years to come.

I was impressed on this day (I had never before passed hours in Fiske's company) with the extent of his memory. In the range of his references and the variety of subjects on which he had definite knowledge and the literature which he was able to quote at the moment, Fiske recalled the descriptions given of Macaulay for omnivorousness of absorbing capacity and fertility of expression. Whether it were a text of Zoroaster, a quotation from Molinos or Boehme, a citation from a recent debate in the *corps*

legislatif, or a page from Dickens, Fiske's mind and voice worked as if he were sitting in his library and were reading from first one volume or pamphlet and then another. The river recalled at various points scenes from Dickens, and it was the Dickens quotations, coming from a man whose working hours had been given to many things other than fiction, which surprised us the most for their comprehensiveness and precision, or at least apparent precision, of language. No one of us carried in his own head a sufficiently close memory of the texts to be able to check off our big historian if he should miss a paragraph or twist a sentence, but as he spoke the effect was precisely as if he were reading *Oliver Twist* or *The Mutual Friend*, and the utterance was given with a charm of expression and a skill of characterization that brought the scenes very vividly before us. It was little Oliver that was first brought to our attention as our boat drifted up against a point of land at Chertsey. "I think," said Fiske, "it would be interesting to trace the record of the burglary. The path is clearer to us than it was to Oliver and his friends, for we have it by broad daylight and their attack was made, as you will remember, in the small hours of the morning." He then, so to speak, "read off" to us the detailed narrative of the landing of Sykes and his friends, of the dragging of Oliver across the fields, of the pushing of the little boy into the window of the butler's pantry, of the alarm and the scurrying back across the fields, and of the dropping of Oliver and the escape of the several villains. Then, with an entirely different expression of voice, comes in the morning the finding of Oliver by Rose Maylie and her aunt, the account of the burglary by the butler, and the visit and little plot of the kind-hearted physician. We found a house that was about the right distance from the water, and Fiske was able even to point out with triumph a window of the right height and

width through which the boy must have been pushed. In spite of the broad sunshine, we were able to picture to ourselves quite clearly the little drama that had passed in the dark hours of the night. Lower down the river, we came into touch with the first group of characters presented in *Our Mutual Friend* and assisted (at least in the French sense of the term) in recovering from the flood one of the bodies that was being looked for and the sale of which was to make wages for the night work of Rogue Riderhood and Gaffer Hexam.

Of course during the long hours of the day much else besides things Dickensian came into the conversations, but it was the pages of Dickens that constituted perhaps the best example of this man's photographic memory of word and of detail. From Sime we secured (with a little difficulty because he was a shy man even when in a circle of near friends) reminiscences of experiences in his Scotch university and of his later work in Germany when he was collecting materials for his *Life of Lessing*. Holt gave us some word about the life of a student in Yale, the relation of Americans to things English and opinions or impressions in regard to a number of the literary topics that were brought up.

We lunched at a small inn on the riverside and under the influence of pipes and tobacco, the conversation drifted into metaphysical directions and to the consideration of the problems of the universe.

The pleasant experience of this day of personal converse in the company of two mutual friends (if this clumsy Dickensian expression may be permitted) brought me into personal relations with Fiske which made my later meeting with him in New York and elsewhere always a pleasure.

I remember a word that he once gave to a literary group of friends in regard to a practical experience of his own of the growth of the myth:

I had [said he] as a youngster, an experience of a year or two in a school in a small village in Connecticut. The school was so inconsiderable and unimportant that it is fair to say without conceit that I was probably as important a person as had ever studied there. In fact, I have never been able to find among men noteworthy or other in later life a single one of my school associates. I had, nevertheless, a pleasant remembrance of the schoolhouse and of my work there, such as ought always to be retained by a student whose school hours have not been absolutely muddled, and I took the opportunity some years back of staying over a train for the purpose of making a call at the schoolhouse. My visit happened to coincide with the hour for recess. The boys had gone to their homes for lunch and I found in the schoolhouse only one youngster who had probably been kept in for some delinquency and who was well pleased to have his loneliness broken in upon by a visitor. I did not venture my name but simply said that, being detained for a time, I wanted to see what kind of a schoolhouse there was in the village, and then I looked about over the old desks carved with many clumsily outlined initials among which I was able to identify my own, and I saw that the plastered walls were more or less dingy with age. There was really in the little room hardly anything that could fix the attention. The boy noticing, however, my look about the walls, took pains to call my attention to a break in the plaster back of the teacher's desk. The broken place was blackened and stood out in contrast even with the dinginess of the surrounding surface. "Do you see that blotch?" said the boy, "that was made by the great John Fiske, the historian, you know. He got mad one day and he just stood up and threw his inkstand at the teacher. The teacher dodged and the inkstand broke against the wall behind where the teacher's head had been and left that black blotch; and they did not mend it at the time and later I was told they thought they would keep it as a memory of the great historian to show that he had been in this school." I was interested, [said Fiske] that my memory should have been considered sufficiently important to warrant preserving a dirty wall

which ought to have been renewed years before. I was also interested in the boy's narrative as an example of the creation of a myth. I remembered the blotch perfectly and had looked at it often from my seat on the floor, wondering how it had been made and whether anybody had possibly thrown something at the wall; but that the old story of Luther at the Wartburg and his interview with the devil should have been reproduced in this little schoolhouse, and associated with my name, came to me as a personal realization of the necessity of the human mind for associating a story with some individual. The story may wander about for a while unattached until some personality is within reach with which it can be connected. The connection once made, the myth, which requires both a story and a personality, comes into existence. It will continue uncontradicted whatever may be the later evidence as to the lack of foundation, and as to the improbability or even impossibility of the person with whom the incident is associated ever having had anything to do with it. In that little schoolhouse [continued Fiske with some feeling], I was a great person and I hope that the blotch on the wall will continue as long as the youngsters there may remember that John Fiske had belonged to their school.

Robert Louis Stevenson. I have one personal reminiscence connected with Stevenson, an author whose name has become a world-wide celebrity and in regard to whom so much has come into print both of remembrance and of appreciative criticism.

I had for a long series of years been first a regular summer guest and later one of the two or three American members, of the Savile Club in London. My first visits to the Club were made during the late seventies or early eighties when its home was still in Savile Row. My meeting with Stevenson was, however, in the later home of the Club in Piccadilly where its pleasant rooms overlook the Green Park. The house was, I am told, at one time

the home of Lord Rosebery to whom it had come through his marriage into the Rothschild family.

I happened to be in London in a winter month, probably December. I remember that, while the thermometer was not low, the air had that peculiar heat-absorbing capacity which an American, coming into the damp winter climate of London, finds so exacting. The Savile house, like most buildings of its age in London, had no means of being heated other than by the open fire-places. When the room was free, the Yankee took the opportunity of the closest possible contact with this fire-place. On the evening in question, I found in going up after dinner into the general gathering room, that the fire-place was practically occupied by a tall Scotchman. I knew at once that he was a Scotchman by his accent, and his dress presented a rather exaggerated Scotch tweed effect. I was struck also by the fact that in distinction from the usual evening dress of the British gentleman, the fire-absorbing interloper had held on to a flannel travelling shirt. The general impression of roughness gave me the idea of affectation. I found that my man was relating to three or four club members, who assisted him in blocking the fire from the Yankee, some recent experiences in the mountains of the Cevennes where he had had a donkey for a travelling companion. He had been in London for a week or more but he was still taking pains to carry the appearance of a traveller who had had a rough experience. He spoke with great affection of the donkey who for chumming purposes was, he contended, worth any dozen men. The little pictures that he gave in his talk of the valleys and of the inhabitants of the Cevennes were certainly dramatic and sufficiently interesting to listen to and made me almost forget my grievance in having the narrator's tweed between me and the heat. I had, of course, no idea that I was looking at and listening to, a

great man or at least a man who was going to become great. If it were only possible in going through the forest to know in advance which of the little trees years later were to become the big trees, life would be much more interesting, while the success of a publisher would be assured.

Walter Besant and the Authors' Society. In the course of my visits to England in the early seventies, I came into pleasant personal relations with Walter Besant. He was at that time Secretary of the Palestine Exploration Fund. But although he had a varied knowledge of the archæological work that was being carried on in Palestine and gave skilled and conscientious labour to the responsibilities of his post, he was able to devote time and his literary abilities to the production of literature which was quite outside of archæology. If Palestine was for a time at least his vocation, we must admit that literature proved a very important avocation for a man who was large enough not to be confined within any one group of interests.

Besant had as a young man studied divinity, but he had convinced himself at an early age that his theology was not going to remain sufficiently "sound" to warrant his attempting spiritual leadership. In his university work, he had gained high honours in mathematics, but his mathematical studies were later put to one side altogether. He was a thorough student of French literature, but his chief reputation as a writer will rest upon his novels, the strongest of which were those that were written in co-operation with his friend James Rice.

In the course of a few years, he made a sufficient success with his books to be able to resign the secretaryship of the Palestine Society. In the years succeeding, he devoted a very large measure of activity to agitation in behalf of the interests of what he called the Literary Guild. He practically created the Authors' Society of which he was

president until his death. This society took upon itself the task of protecting the interests of authors in their dealings with the publishers. It gave to the authors the advantage of legal service, of experience in the shaping of contracts, of counsel in regard to the various channels in which books could be brought into sale and methods by which actual returns to the authors could be increased.

There is no question but that this society of authors has done and is doing a most valuable service. Authors have had the reputation of being ignorant and careless about business arrangements. The younger writers have often, naturally enough, been so well pleased to make a beginning in bringing their productions into print, that they were not particularly watchful about the details of publishing agreements or the risk that there might be of entering into unwise engagements covering future and more important productions. Not a few publishers, whose management of their relations with authors had been unsatisfactory, were properly enough, under the energetic action of Besant's society "brought to book" for bad methods, and a more precise and a more efficient system of shaping authors' agreements and of protecting the business interests of the authors came into force.

On the other hand, the society laid itself open to a good deal of legitimate criticism. Besant, while admitting frankly that he had never had any ground for dissatisfaction with his own publishers (his books were for the most part in the hands of Chatto & Windus), was free and sometimes heedless in his utterances in regard to publishing processes generally. As the work of the society continued, there came to be an increasing fierceness of utterance and an insistence on the necessary divergence of interest between publishers and authors. In laying a large stress upon the importance of securing immediate returns, Besant and his associates lost sight of

the speculative character attaching to the publication not only of first books but of all books. Besant contended from time to time that there need be no "speculation" in the business of publication. Under his advice, young authors for whose books no assured public was waiting, undertook, either directly or through the literary agencies that came into rapid existence when the publishers began to be exploited one against the other, to demand substantial returns in advance of publication, that is, before any returns had been secured. The old-time system of a continued personal relation between the publisher and his group of authors was largely undermined. The authors failed to realize, or lost the understanding of, the cumulative value coming to books that were grouped together under one imprint and publishing arrangement, so that each successive volume in the series could help to advertise and to make sale for the earlier issues. The authors also were led to lose sight of the advantage to the reading public (and therefore to the books themselves) in having their works kept together in a uniform set. When the author, either directly or through a literary agent, put his book up "at auction" he could occasionally secure a larger immediate payment than would have come to him if the book had been left in the hands of the publisher of his earlier works, but he forfeited the advantage of having his books kept together as "works" and the net returns for any series of years might easily be, and in a number of instances were proved to be, very much smaller.

The continual holding up to criticism, which sometimes became almost opprobrious, of the whole profession of publishers, had a bad effect, particularly upon the younger writers. They came to have an exaggerated idea not only of their literary importance but of their commercial value. The use also of literary agents not merely for testing the market for writers as yet unknown, but for the continu-

ing engagements for writers who were already in satisfactory publishing relations, meant that for the support of these agents a substantial portion of the authorship proceeds of a book must be diverted. The clever agent secured a continuing commission, usually of ten per cent., covering the returns from each book, and this came to him with no speculation and often as a result of a comparatively slight exertion. If there was any risk that an author, having been satisfied with the results of the publishing management of his first book, or first one or two books, might be tempted to remain in association with such publisher, so that the services of the agent would no longer be required, it came to be the business interest of the agent to cause dissatisfaction so that the relation could be broken off. The policy of the agent would be to pull the author up by the roots, so to speak. The agent's commissions depended upon new arrangements and were directly opposed to the policy of a permanent relation between the publisher and his authors. Such a result was, of course, unsatisfactory for the publishers generally and particularly disappointing for the older men who knew that their management of the business of their clients had been upright and effective. These older publishers were naturally unwilling to go into the market with competing bids for the later works of authors whose earlier books they had managed satisfactorily. They also considered it undignified and undesirable to be held off at arm's length by the agents and prevented from maintaining personal relations with their own authors.

While it was the case that the operations of the Authors' Society during its first ten or fifteen years and under the management of the rather fiery Besant produced, as indicated, a full measure of unsatisfactory results, it is fair to say that in these later years, under more conservative management and with the results of a larger experience,

there has been a wiser and a better policy. Authors who have been abused, or who believed themselves to be abused, can today secure at a moderate cost the service of the counsel of the Society in representing their grievances, but there is much less pressure on the part of the managers of the Society in counselling authors to make large demands for "profits" that are not yet earned and that may never be earned. A number of the younger writers have come to realize that their unwarranted demands have stood in the way of securing a fair start for their literary operations. The more experienced authors have come to understand the inevitable speculative character inherent in all publishing undertakings. The publishers who have, under the pressure of competition, bound themselves to make larger payments for a book than could be offset by the sales, naturally come to be not only conservative but possibly unduly pessimistic in regard to future similar volumes. There is never any permanent advantage to a worker, whether he be a producer of literature or a layer of bricks, in securing for some first piece of labour more than it has actually earned. If the worker is a "going concern," that is to say if he expects to go on with his production either of books or of bricks, he will realize very soon that a first piece of over-exactingness on his part must stand in the way of his future success. In fact, not merely will he have to repay the amount that has been overpaid for his first production, but the doubt that comes into the mind of the dealers with whom he comes into relation, as to the actual value of his product, may easily bring him for his later productions a smaller return than they would on their own merits have been entitled to.

I used to visit Besant from season to season at his pleasant home in Hampstead. I was one of the publishers whom he held in personal regard, and while he would through me abuse the guild as a whole, he was ready from

time to time to give attention to my explanations as to the necessary losses in the publishing business caused by the impossibility of deciding in advance what the extent of the public interest in a book might be. I pointed out to him again and again that the loss on the books that did not sell was part of the necessary cost of carrying on the publishing business. It was an essential factor in deciding what could be paid for, and what could be earned by, the books that did sell. Even if the publisher should be eliminated and the authors should undertake, as various authors' associations had undertaken, to bring their books directly before the public, this factor of cost could not be eliminated. Either the payments made to authors of the more successful books must be lessened by the losses on the unsuccessful books or the publishing capital would disappear. Besant would for a while accept such statements with the evidence that I was able to put before him, but the next day his mind would go back curiously to the point at which we had first started our conversation. He was a very difficult man upon whom to make a permanent impression. He came finally to have, I think, what I should call an obsession in regard to the earnings of literature. By "literature" he usually meant fiction. He never realized that there was a limit to the absorbing power of the public even for fiction which had a right to exist. The talk for which the Authors' Society was responsible about the possible earnings of novelists had had as one result the tempting of too many people into the work of producing stories so that the market was frequently overstocked.

Apart from his obsession, Besant was a lovable, warm-hearted man and a loyal and attractive friend. I knew him not only in his home but in the Savile Club of which he had, I believe from the beginning of the Club's existence, been an influential member. I pointed out from time to time that he ought to have secured an experience of some

years in a publishing office, and I tried to tempt him to utilize some of the strenuous members of the Authors' Society for the establishing of an authors' publishing concern. I remain of the opinion that in no other way can authors secure so trustworthy an understanding of the actual conditions under which books can be sold and of the proper basis for the division between those concerned of the proceeds (when there be any proceeds) from such sales.

I had the privilege of being present, usually as a guest of Besant, at several of the annual dinners of the Authors' Club. I recall at one of these dinners a talk by Lowell which impressed me as of a higher level than the Authors' Club often had the opportunity of listening to. Lowell was speaking of the impression made upon him of the spirit and life of the great city of London, and his hearers came to feel that they had before them a picture not of a community of six millions of people, but of a great composite creation that had gradually been evolved through the growth of generations of Britains until it stood today for something vastly manifold, carrying in its bosom a wonderful record of the past and the seeds of a great history to come.

I was called upon from time to time at these dinners to present the American point of view in regard to the work of authors, or their relations with publishers, or to give some statement in regard to the probable changes in the copyright law of the United States.

The British authors were, in the late eighties and early nineties, beginning to realize how important for their property interest was the circle of possible readers in the United States. I took advantage of one of these opportunities to make announcement to the assembled authors that the publishers had for some years had in preparation a historical work which was to present a record of the sins

of authors from the time of Martial down to the present day.

The publication of the work had, as I explained, been delayed only because the material that was being collected from various sources had increased so enormously upon the hands of the committee that had the book in charge. The picture that I drew of the villainies of the literary craft was a very black one indeed. I pointed out that from the earliest times in which authors had come to publishers to secure the help needed to bring their productions before the public, the publishers had been the sufferers not only from the over-confidence and optimism of these authors, but from their exactions, their ingratitude, and their lack of integrity. The moneys that had been secured by authors without consideration, that is to say for work that was never delivered, or never completed; the advances paid for books which were to sell by the millions and which had never reached the thousands; the loans, the security for which was presented in the shape of manuscripts of no commercial value; the contracts signed and disregarded either because of fitfulness of plan or because some other undertaking gave temptation of more immediate returns; these actions and relations constituted together a most formidable aggregate of crimes and misdeeds. And, I proceeded, it was considered important for emphasizing the indictment against literary workers and for securing a prospect of some improvement in methods for the future, that the record should be brought down "to the present time." I could not but feel that a tremor passed through the audience as I spoke. In fact, I knew that there were at that time present one or two of my own authors who had failed to fulfil contracts with me dating back a number of years. I admitted that there were cases in which publishers also had been heedless of their trust and had not been ready to carry out in full their

obligations under contracts, but I said, here is an Authors' Society ready and eager to take immediate action in case of such malfeasance, but the publishers have never been so brutal as to attempt to force authors to the fulfilment of their engagements. My talk was, of course, given in fun, but I felt then, and I maintain now, that it was based upon a substantial measure of historic truth.

Sir Thomas Farrer. Sometime in the eighties I had a pleasant week-end at the beautiful country home of Sir Thomas Farrer, who a few years later, became Lord Farrer. Sir Thomas was a clear-headed student of applied economics. For a long series of years he was kept at the head of the Board of Trade and his counsel was, as I understood, utilized by administrations of both political parties. He had made various visits to the States and had an intelligent understanding of American conditions, particularly of those obtaining in New England.

I had met him in New York, I think, at one of the early meetings of our Free-Trade Club where we secured from our English guest a clearly presented statement of the business foundations of England's prosperity. He had asked me to report myself to him when I was again in England, and I was glad to secure another impression of a man whose character and knowledge counted on both sides of the Atlantic.

I forget for the moment the name of his country home, but I have memory of an extensive mansion, the origin of which went back a century or two and which contained among other beautiful things a curiously carved oak staircase. I had arrived in time to meet a part of the family at tea, including Lady Farrer and the son who is now (1915) Lord Farrer, but who was then an attractive youngster. I had been steered to my room by an attendant who had been assigned to me, but I had not been careful enough to take bearings as to the route. In returning downstairs

after dressing, I found on my way down that I had forgotten a handkerchief and, starting to go back, I realized that I had failed to take note of the position or specification of my room and that I was practically astray in the great building. Fortunately I ran across the young man of the house and in expressing my relief at meeting him, I said that when Yankees found themselves perplexed in a route, it was their habit "to blaze the way" and that I was about to begin on the staircase. The youngster had read his Cooper and knew what "blazing the way" meant. He said nothing for the moment and looked up the housekeeper who had me steered in the proper direction; but I learned later that he had told his mother that that Yankee was a dangerous man to have in the house because he was about to chop notches with an axe, or perhaps even with a tomahawk, on the big staircase.

William Blackmore. In 1889, I had the opportunity, or rather I made the opportunity, of coming into relations with the author of *Lorna Doone.* At that time he made his home on the Thames near Teddington Lock where he carried on a fruit farm. It is my memory that I took a note of introduction from one of Blackmore's old-time chess opponents. For a series of years, the novelist held a good position in the second group of the chess-players of England and had won his fair share of successes in county chess tournaments.

I found the novelist, with implements in hand, busy among his grape-vines. He was classed in England as a gentleman farmer, but he was both ready and able to do with his own hands a large part of the work that was required for the cultivation of his grapes, nectarines, and pears. The "farm" covered, if I remember rightly, only about twenty acres, but the ground had been developed under intensive cultivation, and with a clever use of brick walls for securing the fullest advantage of the rather fitful

English sun, in such manner that the annual fruit crop was most luxurious.

The old gentleman gave me a very cordial welcome and took me to his piazza, where with a pretty view of the Thames we had afternoon coffee with the additional luxury of exquisite nectarines. Realizing that this beautiful fruit was being produced at a small comparative expenditure, that is under the hands of the actual owner, I assumed that the operation must be quite remunerative and I congratulated my host on being within easy reach of Covent Garden, the most extravagant fruit market of the world. His reply came with a groan: "Yes," he said, "the fruit is good and the London buyers certainly pay for it a high price, but I must admit that when at the end of the year I make up my farm books, I find that the net result is a deficiency instead of a profit. I then have to turn to and write a new story with which to meet the losses on the growing of the fruit."

Blackmore in his home in Devonshire had had early experience in fruit farming, but after his return from the university (he took his degree in Exeter College, Oxford) he began work as a solicitor. His first stories were produced during the intervals of his law work. I understood that he had made a good beginning for a successful career, but his medical adviser ordered him to break away from office confinement and from the town with the word that his years could be prolonged only if he would make his life in the open air. It was then that he utilized his early training by going back to fruit farming and it was in the country that he found a leisure and inspiration for continued literary work.

I spoke with appreciation of *Lorna Doone*, the book by which he was best known to American readers, and expressed the hope that the large sales of the book in the States had brought some returns to the author. The re-

sponse was another groan: "Yes," he said, "*Lorna* remains my favourite. I feel as if this particular heroine were a member of my own home circle. I am glad that she should have found favour with the readers on the far side of the Atlantic, but these readers have paid no pennies to the author of *Lorna Doone.*" I was surprised at this report because the American edition had been issued by one of the leading publishing houses, and while the publication had been made some years in advance of the international copyright agreement, I had assumed that under the routine then in force with the more important of the American publishers, some substantial honorarium had been paid to the author.

I suggested that my own firm would be pleased to issue an authorized American edition of *Lorna Doone.* I proposed, although we could of course have no control of the market and would have to meet the competition of the several unauthorized issues, to pay the author a royalty on the copies sold. I proposed further, payment for an introduction in which the author should give a special message to his American readers. He gave a cordial acceptance to the suggestion, and in the year following my firm published the first authorized American edition, and the most artistically printed edition, of a romance that has been accepted as an English classic. We were able, notwithstanding the difficulty of competition, to make for a couple of years satisfactory returns to the author for the sales. A year or two later, however, Blackmore was persuaded by the publishing house which had issued the book without authorization, and which had made with their original issue no recognition of the author's rights, to prepare for them, for some sufficiently tempting consideration, an introduction for a later printing of their edition. This secured for the earlier "piracy" edition a standing as now issued with the approval of the author and not only

interfered with the sales of the Putnam issue but gave a certain validity to the claim that this earlier edition represented the exclusive authorization of the author.

I continued to go to Teddington from year to year for a game of chess and a bunch of grapes, and in first seeing my author after this transaction, I naturally gave a friendly growl at his ill-advised proceeding. It is my impression, however, that he had no understanding of having done anything that was either unfair or unwise. At that time his years were beginning to tell and his judgment was no longer clear or incisive. I realized the change in connection with my annual game of chess. At the outset he had beaten me without difficulty, but when I won three games in succession, he closed the board with the word: "My chess days are over. I cannot look forward more than three moves."

Leslie Stephen. I have mentioned in connection with the reference to the *National Dictionary of Biography* the name of Leslie Stephen. Stephen's editorial work for the Dictionary was judicious and effective, but his individual fame rests, of course, upon a very different series of undertakings.

My firm arranged with Smith, Elder & Co. to take over for publication in the States the successive productions of Stephen. These books, not suited for, and never securing, a popular sale, belong, of course, to the highest class of literature, and have exercised, and must continue to exercise, an influence in intellectual circles on both sides of the Atlantic.

In first meeting Stephen, I had not failed to bear in mind with cordial appreciation the loyal service rendered by him during the time of the Civil War to the cause of the North. In the years between 1861 and 1865 he stood almost alone in Cambridge in maintaining that the men who were fighting for the existence of the Republic were in

the right and would prevail. I have made reference in an earlier volume to the clever analysis that Stephen brought into print in September, 1865, of the long series of misleading, not to say lying, articles for which during these years the *Times*, under the leadership of John Delane, was responsible.

Stephen was a man who possessed a real capacity for friendship and strong social instincts. In the sympathetic memoir written by Maitland, description is given of the Sunday Walking Club initiated by Stephen and the operations of it during a long series of years. One of the members of this club was Stephen's near friend George Meredith. The association of the two men in their later years became difficult because of the increasing deafness of each. I recall being at a dinner given in Meredith's cottage at Box Hill at which were present Stephen, W. S. Lilly, W. A. Bell, and myself. Stephen and Meredith had opposite ends of the table and neither could hear anything that the other was saying. Each, however, when noticing the movement of the lips of the other, would stop talking, and then we could not get a word from either. We did, of course, what we could to transmit the words of the two men across the table, but the barrier was evidently a serious one, and for men with such faculty for social intercourse must have been a cause of sadness.

Edward A. Freeman. In the early eighties, I found myself a member of a committee which had invited the historian Freeman to give a course of lectures in New York, and which had assumed the financial responsibility for a minimum compensation to the lecturer. He was to receive as much beyond this minimum as the returns from the tickets might warrant. The historian's name was well known in the cultivated circles of the city, and for the first lecture the hall was amply filled. The audience found itself, however, keenly disappointed with both the matter

and the manner of the lecturer. Freeman could not get over the impression, shared by more than one English lecturer, that his audience was made up, if not of youngsters, at least of hearers whose mental capacities were still immature. He presented a few rather elementary statements as to the coming of the Pilgrims to New England, and explained to the hearers, the majority of whom were descendants from these same New Englanders and were, of course, perfectly familiar with their family history, how some of the Pilgrims had come to Massachusetts direct from England, or, as he put it, "in one pull," while others had come to us by way of Holland, that is to say, "in two pulls." Having made this great point clear, he repeated it with no very great difference of language, and there was very little else in the lecture. On the second night the hall was half filled, and on the third we had but a scant handful of hearers. When the third lecture was over, I, in my capacity as committeeman, took the historian to the Century Club where hospitality had been secured for him. I do not know which of the two men was the crosser during our brief walk. The historian had convinced himself that New York City was absolutely unappreciative of his scholarship and of his ability as a lecturer, while his companion was oppressed with the thought of the financial deficiency that would have to be met by his committee. The method of Freeman's delivery was unattractive. The voice was harsh and the enunciation thick, while at the close of the sentence, the speaker would often permit his voice to fall so that the hearer would lose the final and conclusive word. I recalled at the time a similar difficulty in the case of Matthew Arnold, who also failed to win success with American audiences. It is a truism, of course, to point out that learning or wide information, even when accompanied as in the case of Arnold by grace of thought and charm of expression, are not in themselves sufficient

to enable a lecturer to come into sympathetic and effective relations with his hearers. He must have a voice, and he must have some knowledge how to use his voice. One might as well expect a man to be a successful swordsman who had never secured any training in the use of his weapon. Since the date of Arnold and of Freeman, English platform speaking has, I believe, very much improved. England has in each generation produced great orators and not a few effective speakers. English audiences have, however, shown much more patience, whether before the pulpit or in front of the political hustings, or around a table at a public dinner, with clumsy and ineffective utterances than would ever have been possible on the part of similar American gatherings, and the speaking in the United States on the part, not of the great men, but of the men of ordinary attainments and with qualities not of the highest range, has certainly been on the average more graceful and more effective than could be listened to on the other side of the Atlantic.

Mr. Freeman must have forgiven his committeeman because I find record later of pleasant hospitality extended to me in his University home on St. Giles in Oxford and in his charming country place Somerleaze, near Wells. In staying with him at Oxford, it was my habit to go with the two home daughters, most loyal and charming women, to the Professor's lectures. These lectures, it is fair to remember, contained really important material, but the delivery was not graceful or effective, and as the lecturer had, with a curious perversity, nearly always selected subjects which were entirely out of touch with the requirements of the examiners in the schools, the undergraduates were not interested in making time for them. They could not be made to count for honours. It was, therefore, important for the daughters and myself to be present to swell an audience which comprised in all but a handful of persons.

I noticed that at times Freeman's great beard of a distinctive reddish yellow tint was irregular in its cut. The daughters explained that this was usually due to the fact that the father did his work in the evening between two candles, and that as he became sleepy, he would nod first to one side and then to the other. The beard, catching fire in one of the candles, naturally did not always burn evenly, and it was important, therefore, for the daughters to take charge in the morning of the clipping needed to restore the equilibrium. I was told later in Oriel, where Freeman was for many years a valued Fellow, that on a Christmas festivity he had taken charge of the important duty of the ignition of the plum pudding. He poured the spirit over the pudding, and then burying his beard in the great dish, succeeded in setting fire to pudding and beard together.

I remember a dinner at Oriel on a Sunday evening in June. The hospitality of Oriel was proverbial, and at this time of the year there were nearly always guests from outside. The principal guest on this day was the historian Taine. There were also present one or two Oriel fellows who were in Oxford for a visit, of whom the most noteworthy was James Bryce. The provost Monro presided. Taine, seated, naturally, at Monro's right, asked his host whether he might carry on his conversation in French, and Monro, whose French was fluent, though rather Scotch in tone, said, "without question, if it was more convenient." Mr. Bryce's French was also ready and expressive, and Freeman who sat opposite, next to Bryce, must himself have possessed a working knowledge of the language. He was at this time, however, a little deaf, while it is possible also that he was less familiar with the language as spoken today than with the Norman French of earlier centuries. Some reference was made to Victor Hugo and to the great range of Hugo's knowledge. This aroused Taine's criticism. "Hugo, an authority!" said Taine, "why, his igno-

rance was colossal. He was a cyclopædia of ignorance." Taine then went on to speak with admiration of Thierry, the great French authority on the Norman conquest, and he naturally addressed his remarks towards Freeman. Freeman bowed solemnly from time to time as if in assent, but, as I learned afterwards, without having taken in what the Frenchman was saying. Later, as we went out to the common room for the coffee, I took a mischievous pleasure in asking Freeman whether he accepted Taine's views on the work of Thierry. My host at once became quite excited. "What," he said, "Thierry an authority! He never had more than the most superficial knowledge of the subject. Thierry's work based upon the latest discoveries! Why, the man never knew enough to interpret a manuscript of the eleventh century and did not have the understanding even to utilize the interpretation of others." "Well, sir," I said, "Monsieur Taine is returning to Paris with the belief that the English authority on the Norman conquest is entirely in accord with his views and his high appreciation of Thierry." "I must correct him," said Freeman, hurrying his steps towards the common room for the purpose. As we entered, Taine, who was obliged to take an early train back to London, was putting on his cloak with the aid of his attendant. He sees Freeman coming across the room hurriedly at him, and assuming at once that it is merely for a farewell greeting, puts out both his hands and overwhelms the Englishman with a flood of voluble and graceful adieus in French. Freeman has no opportunity to get in a word edgewise, and Taine bows himself out confident that he has made a satisfactory impression on the English historian and delighted that Freeman does not question the authority or the value of his rival Thierry. Freeman devoted a valuable half-hour in the evening to a lecture given to his daughters and to myself on the inadequacies of Thierry.

Freeman's fierceness as a controversialist is a matter of record; but I want to bear testimony to the charm and consideration of his service as a host. I remember one day devoted to a visit to the ruins of Glastonbury, to which he had steered me from the home at Somerleaze. I had all to myself a most charming and instructive lecture on the history of the ruins and on the purport of the great series of legends that had gathered about the ruins. On another day I was one of an audience of two, the other being Lord Arthur Hervey, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, to whom he gave a most instructive lecture on the history of the Cathedral.

We had for some years had a contract in force with Freeman for the preparation for the Putnam series of *Story of the Nations* of a volume on Sicily. Freeman had explained to me that the history of Sicily was the key to the history of the Mediterranean, with which was bound up through long series of centuries the development of Europe. Our book had gone on very slowly indeed, and all that I was able to secure in going to our author from June to June was the report that the work was still in train. On one June, however, the report took a little different shape. In looking up the material for my volume, Freeman had become so much impressed with the importance of the subject for the elucidation, as said, of the history of Europe, that he put before the Clarendon Press a plan for a comprehensive work devoted to Sicily. He realized, however, that under his contract with me he was not free to produce another history of Sicily until my book was out of the way, and even then not without the assent of the Putnams. I said at once that irrespective of any business advantage to itself, my firm would not be willing to stand in the way of the carrying out of a scholarly undertaking such as that in plan. I emphasized, however, the desirability of getting our little book cleared out of the way without further

delay. A year later I was told that this course had not proved practicable. The historian explained that it was necessary to take up each epoch for itself. He showed me a little table on which rested the few sheets of a modest looking little manuscript that comprised the material for my small volume, and a great big table carrying a large mass of manuscript which was being shaped for the Clarendon Press volume. Freeman explained that as he wrote a chapter for the larger work, he would write out a page and place it on the manuscript belonging to me. I realized that under this method of procedure a good many years would elapse before my volume was completed, and, realizing the justice of my renewed complaint, the historian finally did divert himself from the main theme of his narrative and completed the final chapters of my volume in time to do the last proofreading just before his fatal illness in Alicante. The managers of the Clarendon Press were obliged after the historian's death to make a second application to the Putnams. We placed at their disposal the final chapters of our smaller history, which chapters were expanded by some literary worker so as to enable the sixth volume of the great history to be brought into print.

In the latter part of 1863, the historian Freeman brought into publication a study of government issued under the title of: *History of Federal Government from the Organization of the Achaian League to the Disruption of the American Republic.* It was the author's expectation to have the second volume in readiness a year or two later. According to the literary gossip of the time, the continuation of the work was prevented by the annoyance on the part of its author that the American Republic had refused to stay "disrupted." Freeman belonged to the Liberal group of the Englishmen of his day and was, I believe, himself in favour of the success of the cause of the North, but in common with the majority of the educated English-

men of his generation, he had no faith that the North could prevail or that the nation would continue to exist. In any case he lost interest in the plan of his history and no second volume was ever published. A second edition of the first volume, printed after the death of the author, contains a corrected title-page with no reference to the "disruption of the American Republic."

Edward Clodd. A good many years back, when I was looking for literature for the guidance of my young daughters, I got hold of Clodd's *Childhood of the World* and *Childhood of Religion.* I was at once impressed with the fine combination presented in those books of incisive radicalism, that is to say of the purpose of testing each thing for itself, and of earnest reverence for the things, whether they were institutions or beliefs, which when tested showed that they had come into existence for the good of humanity. When, years later, I came to know the author of the books, I was able to realize that the spirit of his written word represented the nature of the man himself. At this time of writing, my friend, Edward Clodd, is in the eighth decade of his life, and during the half-century of his mature years, he has, with enormous persistence and industry, devoted the intelligent capacity with which he is endowed to the earnest study of the problems of life.

He was not born to a life of leisure, and the working hours of his days it has been necessary for him to utilize to secure a livelihood for himself and for those for whom he was responsible and others for whom his help was always ready. He had at his control but a few of the hours so precious for the man of scholarly tastes, but he was able by diligent watching and opportunities to make time for thought and for literary work presenting the results of thought, and for service in the Rationalist Association and in other channels of activities. Modest, unselfish, earnest,

incisive, reverent, his teachings have always been sympathetic, suggestive, and above all characterized by absolute intellectual integrity.

It has been my privilege from year to year to be a visitor at the charming little cottage at Aldborough on the east coast. In this cottage, which had been handed down to Clodd from his father, it was his pleasure to gather for a week-end sojourn friends with whom he had intellectual and moral sympathies and other friends who, while not accepting Clodd's conclusions, were valuable for personal relation. The hospitable wherry, the *Lotus*, as sailed, or under pressure of adverse wind as pulled with heavy sweeps, on the river Ald, has been the scene of many an active and interesting discussion on *quidquid agunt homines*, carried on by groups that in successive years have included among others men as different as Meredith, Thomas Hardy, Shorter, Seccombe, and Jacobs. Clodd has always had a genius for friendship and he has had the closest and most affectionate relations with men differing much from each other, and some of whom have been brought together only through Clodd as a connecting link. Clodd was an admirer of Omar Khayyám as interpreted by FitzGerald, and an early member of the Omar Khayyám Club. He told me of a visit made by a group of Omarites at the time of the return to England of the Minister to Persia. The Minister, himself an enthusiastic Omarite, had brought with him two cuttings from one of the rose bushes that shelter the grave of Omar at Ispahan. These cuttings were planted at the head and foot of the grave of Omar's great interpreter FitzGerald in the picturesque little churchyard. I have visited the grave more than once and have seen with pleasure the beautiful great bushes that have developed from the cuttings, the blossoms of which from June to June scatter their petals over the dust of the warm-hearted FitzGerald. Clodd

told me of a little account given in one of the London papers of this pilgrimage of the Omarites to FitzGerald's grave, an account which ended with the appropriate lines:

". . . the Wild Ass
Stamps o'er his Head, but cannot break his sleep."

Sir George Otto Trevelyan. I had the pleasure more than once of meeting Sir George Otto Trevelyan, nephew of Macaulay, and himself one of the distinguished authors of his generation. I remember in lunching with him, probably about 1900, speaking with appreciation of his brilliant historical sketch of the American Revolution and making special reference to the skill with which he had described the battle of Trenton. There are not a few historians whose scholarship is trustworthy, and whose work is presented with due literary skill, who have never been able to realize with sufficient precision the problems of the management of the campaigns, or the manner in which troops behave under fire. Not a few of the histories which have won reputation are marred in their completeness and in their trustworthiness by the vague, amateurish way in which is presented the record of campaigns and of battles. Sir George impressed me as possessing what the staff officer calls the topographical instinct. He knew exactly what had happened on Christmas night, 1776, on the banks of the Delaware; how the troops had been ferried across the ice crowded stream and pressed up the river bank on to the north end of the main road through the town, while General Knox was carrying out the still more difficult problem of getting guns across the river on the frail barges that were available and hauling these guns by men power (there were no horses within reach) up the icy banks, so that they could be planted at the south end of the town where, even with no reserve of infantry behind them, they could complete the discomfiture of the Hessians under

Rahl. "You must have studied that ground very carefully, sir," I said. "Why, Major," replied Sir George, "I never have had the opportunity of seeing the American side of the Atlantic." He had, nevertheless, studied, if not the ground, the descriptions of the ground, in such manner as to take in accurately the picture of the things that happened.

On one other matter we found ourselves in substantial accord. "Do you not think, Sir George, that your good uncle, great author and able citizen as he was, made a mistake when he killed Talfourd's copyright bill?" This bill, framed by Talfourd in 1841, proposed to secure copyright for the life of the author and thirty years. It was defeated by the eloquence of Macaulay, who thought that the author's life was quite a long enough term for such a monopoly, but who was finally persuaded to agree to an extension of seven years. "I have every reason to agree with you, Putnam," said Sir George. "I should have been some thousands of pounds better off if my uncle had let Talfourd's bill alone." Over seventy years of argument and labour were required before, in 1912, the legislators of England decided that the intellectual interests of the community would be served by securing for literary workers the right to obtain a return from their labours for their sons and grandsons, as well as for themselves.

Lord Kitchener. I had the opportunity, in crossing the Atlantic in the spring of 1910, of securing a personal impression of Lord Kitchener, who was at the time on his way to London after an absence from England of seven years. We were fellow-passengers on the White Star steamer *Oceanic*, and, having had previous trips with Captain Haddock, I was placed at his table opposite to his most distinguished guest. Kitchener was at this time about sixty years of age. He had been in command of the army in India and had come into conflict with the Viceroy,

Lord Curzon, in regard to the relation of the civil authority to the control of the army and to the management of problems and frictions arising on the frontier.

My first impression of the General was not entirely favourable. The figure was tall and the bearing erect and soldierly. The head was sturdy and rather bullet-shaped and the forehead was low. There was a slight divergence in the eyes resulting in a sinister expression which doubtless did injustice to the nature of the man. The general impression given by the face was, however, not only autocratic but suggestive of a capacity for bad temper. One felt that the General would be a bad man to "come up against" in a matter of discipline or even of opinion. He had gained the reputation of being a great organizer and a stern and exacting disciplinarian. He was also noted for his aversion to titled or labelled incapacity and to "flummery" of all kinds. He was for the great part of the time reticent, having no small talk and expressing no interest in the general subjects that came up from day to day. In fact, while the ladies remained at table (we had two in a party of eight) Kitchener hardly opened his lips. I remembered having been told that he was a confirmed misogynist and that he made it a practice to refuse to place any special responsibility in the hands of a married officer if a bachelor were within reach. He took the ground that the influence or even the existence of a wife was likely to be demoralizing on the capacity either for working or for fighting.

Kitchener had come from India by way of Japan and he had utilized his sojourn in the Far East to make a thorough study, with Marshal Oyama and his associates, of the history and topography of the Manchurian campaign. I happened to be the only other old soldier in the ship's company, and as I had been interested in reading the several records of the Japanese war, I was able by perti-

nent questions and suggestions to lead the General on in a narrative that was valuable as history and that had also a personal interest as expressing his views on the operations of modern warfare. Kitchener had a great respect for the leaders and the personnel of the army of Japan and was of opinion that if Japan came into antagonism with the United States, we should find it difficult to defend the Pacific slope against such an invasion as could be organized. He admitted, however, that under the present policy of the Empire, its resources would for a series of years to come be directed to, and be fully absorbed in, strengthening its position in Korea, Formosa, and Manchuria, and that the government was discouraging migration and investments in other directions.

The General gave me one evening the benefit of a talk all to myself on the essential importance and value of war for the development and maintenance of character and manliness in the individual and in the community. He could conceive of no power or factor that could replace war as an influence to preserve man from degeneracy. He did not lose sight of the miseries and the suffering resulting from war, but be believed that the loss to mankind would be far greater from the "rottenness" of a long peace. Speaking from recent experience, he pointed out that the princes and "gentle" classes of India who considered war as the only possible occupation (with the exception of hunting) for gentlemen, found their chief grievance against British rule in the fact that it prevented fighting throughout the Peninsula. Kitchener agreed with the Indian princes in the belief that they and their noble subjects were decaying in character under the enforced idleness of the *pax Britannica* and he sympathized keenly with their princely grievance. I suggested to the General that during the periods in which Europe had accepted most thoroughly the domination of the soldier class and the influence of the

military ideal, as for instance during the Thirty Years' War, there had been no satisfactory development of nobility of character. He admitted this objection as pertinent, but contended that war could be carried on with methods and with standards that would preserve it as an instrument of civilization. I asked whether it would be a good thing for India if the British force, once every ten years or so, should establish a "ring fence" within which the princes might, for the purpose of keeping themselves in condition, carry on a little fighting with their own followers, a kind of twentieth-century tournament. "I could hardly take the responsibility, Major," he replied, "of formally recommending such a plan, but I am convinced that it would have many advantages."

I found the General modest enough in his utterances on matters in which he was an accepted authority, but disposed to be "cocky" in his conclusions on things of which he knew little or nothing. He had, for instance, in a seven days' trip across the "States," arrived at the belief that our educational methods in the Western States must be working serious mischief in the community. "It is evident," he remarked, "that among the results of coeducation, there must be a great increase in the number of illegitimate babies!"

I understood that the Field Marshal was expected in the near future to succeed Lord Roberts in the command of the forces of the Empire, and I thought it fortunate for Britain that she had available for this responsibility a man who, while narrow, uncultivated, and prejudiced, possessed so much force, strength of character, and devoted patriotism, and probably also (although I realized that there had as yet been no opportunity for a full test) so much real ability as a leader of men.

The Johnson Club. I have had pleasant associations, covering a long series of years, with a group of men, many

of them very interesting men, who had organized in the early eighties a club for perpetuating the memory of Samuel Johnson. The club included in its membership, among others, Augustine Birrell, Thomas Seccombe, George Whale, and Fisher Unwin.

It was the custom of the club to come together twice a year for a meal called a supper. It was not considered good form for a Johnsonian to speak of "dining" at eight o'clock in the evening. These gatherings were in great part held at taverns or other places with which Johnson had had personal association. I remember a visit to Litchfield in the early nineties at which the club was received by the Mayor of the city, the Dean of the Cathedral, and other dignitaries. I held in my hand on the bowling green the bowl which had been used by the great Samuel and which still bore his initials. I examined in the lending book of the Cathedral the record of various loans made first to the assistant in the book-shop in Litchfield, and later to the literary worker in London. One of the entries remained as I noted unsettled. Samuel had borrowed two books that had apparently not been returned. The librarian said that they were always hoping that those books, which contained the stamp of the Cathedral library, might still turn up.

A year or two later, the club was meeting in Pembroke College, Oxford, and a paper read by one of the members gave a description of Johnson's library, a description the text for which was the catalogue of the library as printed for the auction sale that was held after Johnson's death. Our friend had discovered this catalogue in a group of pamphlets in the Bodleian. I happened to carry in memory the titles of the two books which were still due to the Cathedral library in Litchfield, and I was interested in finding both titles included in the auctioneer's catalogue, but this discovery did not bring

the library in Litchfield any nearer to the recovery of the lost volumes.

The Prior of the club for two years was that clever barrister, able administrator, and graceful speaker, Augustine Birrell, who later accepted in Mr. Asquith's Cabinet the post of Secretary for Ireland. I remember the manner in which Birrell as presiding officer introduced myself, who happened to be the first speaker of the evening. "Now," he said, "we shall have a word from Mr. Putnam who inhabits that vast unknown tract called the Western Hemisphere."

CHAPTER XI

Varied Experiences

A Parliamentary Campaign. In 1887, I took part, in behalf of my old friend Daniel Pidgeon, in a parliamentary campaign. Pidgeon had been trained as a civil engineer and had won a good position in his profession. He was the designing engineeer, or one of the engineers, who constructed the Westminster Bridge. In the course of his professional work he had been in various parts of the world and had made various sojourns in the United States, particularly in New England. He had found himself keenly interested in American institutions and conditions, and I had never met an Englishman who was so well informed on American affairs. He had been impressed with the commercial value of the inventive capacity of his American friends and with the advantage to the American community of the wide distribution secured for labour-saving devices many of which were quite unfamiliar on the other side of the Atlantic. He had finally constituted a business devoted to the importation into Great Britain, for use not only in the British Isles but on the continent, of American devices of labour-saving equipment of one kind or another, devices classed as "Yankee notions."

I remember visiting a great warehouse of his company on the old Swan wharf, the six stories of which were packed with inventions and appliances from toothpicks to re-

frigerators. The manager showed me a wooden skewer with the word that he imported from an American factory two thousand pounds' worth of them a year. The list included mouse-traps, cooking utensils, stable appliances, and in fact almost every possible result of American ingenuity. The concern was doing an increasing business and is doubtless still prospering.

Pidgeon found himself one year particularly interested in a new mechanism, devised by somebody in Massachusetts, for completing by machinery certain processes in the making of brushes which had formerly been done by hand. He purchased the patent and imported into London not only a set of the brush-making machinery but a Yankee foreman to supervise the operation of the same and to give the necessary instruction to the British workmen. The Star Brush Company then constituted secured an immediate success and is today, after thirty years' experience, one of the important industrial concerns. Pidgeon was also one of the founders of an establishment at Banbury near Oxford for the construction of agricultural machinery and in this concern he utilized to full advantage a number of American inventions and ideas.

He was an advanced Liberal and was quite prepared to accept an invitation from the Liberal parliamentary committee to contest the South Evesham district of Worcester County. He was unknown in the region (not an unusual experience for an English parliamentary candidate) and as this was his beginning in politics, he had not as yet brought together any group of political friends who were prepared to assist in his campaign. The county district covered a good deal of ground and my friend needed help with his speaking. I received while in Oxford a line asking if I would not come down and take part in the campaign. I was keenly interested in doing anything that might be of service to my friend or that might further the cause of

the Liberals; I was at the time a good Gladstonian. I wrote, however, with some question as to the wisdom of using in an English political contest the service of a Yankee. Pidgeon's rejoinder showed, however, that he was quite clear in his mind on this matter. He reminded me that the particular issue of the campaign was the county home rule bill. "All you have to do," he said, "is to tell the voters how you manage county home rule and town home rule in New England, and when you are through with your talk, be prepared to answer their questions."

On my way from Oxford to Worcester, I had a day in London and I found awaiting me a request to lunch at the Bachelor Club with W. H. Mallock. I knew Mallock slightly, having published two of his books, but I was not a little puzzled as to why I was honoured with such an invitation. The lunch was very satisfactory as is always the case in this luxurious club, but I found that I had secured it under a wrong impression on the part of my host. When we got to the cigars, he told me that he had a request to make. "I am going down to Cornwall to do some campaigning for a cousin from London who is running for Parliament, of course as a good Conservative. We have a great district to cover, and we are short of speakers and it occurred to me that you might possibly be interested, if only for the fun of a new experience, in coming down to help us for a few days."

"But," I demurred, "I should doubt whether the influence of a Yankee would be likely to prove of service to a candidate in an English campaign."

"Oh," responded my host, "you would have something very pertinent to add to the matters that are now being discussed by the English voters. We are, as you of course understand, fighting against an extended movement, I should almost call it a conspiracy, for the disintegration of the United Kingdom. The so-called Home-Rulers will,

of course, not be satisfied with taking Ireland out of the authority of Parliament. Their plans for breaking up the kingdom will doubtless proceed to home rule or separatist schemes for Wales and for Scotland. Now you Yankees have only recently gotten through with a great struggle for union, for the maintenance of the nation. Our voters I am sure will be very much interested in hearing from you what were the motives that influenced you fellows in your four years' fight, why the nation was worth fighting for, and why disunion was to be repressed at any cost."

"Well," I answered, "there would be no great difficulty in making a few speeches on those lines, but I am not the man for your purpose. I must admit that as far as I have interests in England, I belong to the Liberal side of the present issue. I have, in fact, already agreed to do some talking for a friend who is trying to oust a Conservative member. I owe you an apology," I added, "for eating your lunch, not under false pretences, but under a wrong impression."

Mallock took my response good-naturedly enough but said he could hardly wish me success.

I had an interesting week in Worcestershire. When I met my friend, he said at once that he had no hopes of success. This was his first candidacy and it was the custom of the Central Committee to let a new man fight it out first in a hopeless district, and when he had done his share of that kind of campaigning, to give him a fighting chance somewhere else. The sitting candidate for the South Evesham district was a large landowner and was popular as a landlord. It was Sir Richard Temple, who had, if I remember rightly, the reputation of being the homeliest man in the House of Commons. He was an authority on Indian matters and had won approval as a good working man in committee. There was no reason at all, if the Conservatives were to be kept in, why Sir Richard

should not hold his seat. That also was the opinion of the majority of the voters, or at least of the agricultural voters, in the district.

It is fair to say that these rural workers came out to listen to our talk and treated us respectfully enough. I found myself quite baffled in the attempt to bring any trace of expression into these upturned bucolic faces. I was surprised that after a long day's work in the fields (the election was in June) they should be prepared to give an hour or more in the evening to listen to a stranger with whom, as far as they understood what he was saying, they disagreed. It was like fishing in a dead pool to try to bring a ripple of responsiveness into their faces. I found that the closer I came to parish conditions, the better was my chance of success. When I mentioned the town pump and the right of the villagers to control its output, there was at least a ripple of appreciation. In one hamlet, I secured an audience of a very different character. The village was devoted to needle-making and the 400 voters were nearly all workers in the factory. They were probably not natives of the country. They had a different physique and were very much keener in their expression. When I got through with my talk, I had to answer a long series of very intelligent questions on the American method of managing villages, towns, counties, and states. These men had a fair understanding of the purpose of federalism, and if any large number in the British Isles could have approached the subject with the intelligence of these needle-makers, the problem which has been troubling English voters and legislators for half a century and more, as to the best method of keeping in harmonious relations the different units of the United Kingdom, would be well on towards solution. When the election was over, it was evident that my friend Mallock had what the boys call the "grind" on me. His cousin was elected by a safe

majority, while the candidate who had secured the help of the Yankee was badly beaten.

I was interested in testing in this election the working of the bribery and corruption Act. I found my friend and his son, who was helping in the management of the campaign, under the necessity of watching very closely each penny that was expended for campaign purposes either by the candidate himself or by any associates or assistants who could be classed as his representatives. Under the provisions of the act, the candidates were permitted expenditure only under certain specified headings, while the total expenditure was limited to a certain sum per voter, if I remember rightly, something like 8/6d. The accountant for the little party was called upon, therefore, from morning to morning to tell how near the total the expenditure had come. My friend happened to be with me in an inspection of the needle factory although he was called off to speak somewhere else that evening. As we came out, realizing that it might not be in order for him to use his pocketbook, my hand went into my pocket for what I supposed to be the necessary half-crown for the workman who had shown us about. I felt my friend's hand gripping my arm. "No, Putnam," he said, "it won't do. Not during the campaign. The man will understand why he gets no fee." If any money had been spent under an illegitimate heading or if the money spent under the lawful headings exceeded the amount of the official allowance, the candidate's election, if he had been successful, would *ipso facto* have been set aside. It would be very satisfactory if at some time in the near future, we may be able to bring into operation in the State of New York as effective a bribery and corruption act.

I had the opportunity of dividing the platform during a part of this South Evesham campaign with a young barrister who had been associated in Christ Church with the

son of my friend the candidate. I was impressed at once with his lightness of touch and keen sense of humour, and with the shrewdness and readiness with which he came into sympathetic relations with his hearers. His speaking, adapted properly enough to the successive groups that constituted our audiences, at times rose to a high standard of political eloquence. He was a most charming fellow to campaign with, and I have in years since had the privilege of holding with him continued friendship relations. My young barrister, whom I first met in this campaign of 1887, is now Baron Buckmaster, Lord Chancellor of England; but his well-deserved honours, the result of capacity and conscientious labour, have not been permitted to impair his charming humour or his simple straightforwardness of character.

The Economic Club and Mr. Gladstone. I think it was in 1887 that I had the opportunity of a personal word with Mr. Gladstone. I was one of the two guests at an annual dinner of the Economic Club, an association which dates back to the beginning of the nineteenth century. I have a volume of the transactions of the club bearing date 1818. The chairman for the evening was one of the governors of the Bank of England and on his right side sat Mr. Gladstone as the guest of honour. There were in all about twenty men present. The paper, by Dr. Foxwell of St. Johns, Cambridge, was on the subject of paper money and the special application had to do with the suggestion that comes up from time to time for the introduction into England of one pound notes and possibly of paper currency of a still lower denomination.

It is my memory that the speaker of the evening favoured bringing English currency into line with the system that obtained in Scotland. Some member appointed for the purpose, whose views were different from those of the essayist, presented an analysis of the paper. The

chairman then called upon the two American guests, Edward Atkinson of Boston and myself. When our word had been given, the chairman called in turn upon each member present, beginning at his left hand. A few admitted that they had nothing to add to what had already been said, simply expressing their conclusion as in accord either with Foxwell or with his critic, but there must have been a dozen or more distinct expressions of opinion on one phase of the matter or another.

My own contribution was an account of the paper currency of our own Civil War period. I happened to have in my pocketbook a clean specimen of a three cent postal note and I exhibited this as an example of what I believed to be the lowest denomination that had ever been utilized by a national government for paper currency. I was sitting opposite Mr. Gladstone and he stretched out his hand in order to secure a closer view of the little postal note. I said naturally enough, "The note seems to interest you, Mr. Gladstone. I should be glad if you might care to add it to your collection." He accepted the gift with very gracious appreciation. Later when the others had gotten through with their talking, the chairman turned to his right and said: "Now, Mr. Gladstone, you will sum us all up and tell us what we really ought to think." The old gentleman had for some time been sitting with his hand over his eyes and I had thought he might have been indulging in a quiet nap, but it was evident when he got upon his feet that he had missed nothing, or at least nothing of importance, that had passed in the discussion. He gave a concise analysis of the paper and of the adverse argument, and then made reference to each word that had been uttered about the table that constituted any addition to the discussion. He spoke very pleasantly of my own little contribution as presenting quite a novel chapter in the history of paper money. He then gave his own con-

clusion, which was decidedly adverse to the introduction into England of one pound notes. It was about midnight when Gladstone's talk was completed and his man was waiting behind his chair with his cloak. In passing out, he reached his hand to me and spoke of his pleasure in meeting me and of his remembrance of some correspondence he had had with me three years back. I had written to ask his permission to include in a series of representative essays that I was compiling his paper on "Kin Beyond the Sea." The old gentleman not only remembered the fact but remembered my selection and his expression of approval.

He left us not for the rest of home but for the House of Commons where he was to be busy for another two or three hours.

A Buddhist M. P. I remember a conversation I had, possibly in the late eighties, with an acquaintance whom I had come to know through some Savile Club friends, a scholarly Indian, I believe a Buddhist. My friend had won a seat as a Liberal in one of the Holborn districts of London, but in a second contest had been unsuccessful. He interested me with the philosophical view which he took of the relations of India with Great Britain.

Mr. Putnam [he said], the history of my country goes back, as you know, some thousands of years. During that period, we have made a number of experiments in the management of our government. We have, so to speak, employed first one set of governors and then another. Some of the rulers thus called in have been exceedingly brutal, many have been unduly extravagant and have largely exhausted the resources of the people, and most of them have done their work in a very stupid and unsatisfactory fashion. After an experience covering thousands of years, we patriotic Indians are prepared to say that on the whole we prefer to utilize as governors Englishmen to any other rulers with whom we have experimented.

They also have often been stupid and there have been times in the past when they have been both brutal, unjust, and extravagant, but as compared with their predecessors, the stupidity, and the injustice, and the brutality are but small matters. They do understand the rough work of governing and they do this work more intelligently and more cheaply than any rulers we have ever been able to secure, or than we could at this time possibly secure. The opinion, therefore, of the men of my group is strongly in favour of the maintenance of English rule. The Englishman does not know how to think, but he can and will maintain order, administer justice, carry on the service of the state with a moderate burden of taxation, and keep India at peace. We are ready to pay the cost of the service and to say "thank you" besides. He can leave to the Indian the work of thinking, for which the Englishman is constitutionally unfitted.

My friend was well acquainted with English literature, and he might have quoted Matthew Arnold in support of his view:

> The East bow'd low before the blast
> In patient, deep disdain;
> She let the legions thunder past,
> And plunged in thought again.

My Buddhist friend was talking partly in joke, but with a good deal of earnestness. I remember quoting his conversation to an English brother-in-law of mine (my sister had married an Anglo-Indian Judge) and was met with the retort, from the prejudiced point of view of the white man, "the impudent beggar!"

Colorado Springs. The winter of 1882 I passed in Colorado Springs. I was under orders from my doctor to get away from my business for a few months, and as the requirement was not for any special climate but merely for rest, it was only a question of selecting some place where the months could be passed pleasantly. My friend

Walter Howe, who had become a special partner in my business, was going out to Colorado to inspect the Colorado Midland Road in which he had a business interest, and he suggested that we could make the trip together and that I might find Colorado Springs attractive for a winter sojourn.

We met at the Springs three or four of the officials of the road and I had the opportunity of going through the Rocky Mountains in the directors' observation car. The car was fitted with great plate glass windows at the side and at the rear so that the passenger, seated in an arm-chair in a pleasantly warmed drawing-room, had pass before him a great series of views of snow-covered and ice-clad mountains. I do not know that I ever had a greater sense of the luxury of travelling under civilized conditions than when I was able to enjoy this wonderful panorama of the most magnificent mountains of the continent, and, in between the views, to carry on a game of chess with the chief engineer of the road, who being a slow player, left me long intervals for observation. The impressiveness of the unbroken wilderness through which we were passing, a region in which, for long series of miles, there was no trace of occupation by man, was made the greater by the precision with which the busy men constituting the party of directors maintained their communications with the outer world. Two or three times in the course of each day, the little train stopped for a moment at flag stations in order to secure the mail, which was mostly in the form of telegraphic despatches. At one of these stations, however, my own Eastern letters came to hand and with these a copy of the London *Spectator*. The party had no requirement for outside service, as the train was completely fitted for all housekeeping needs. Each passenger had a large stateroom to himself, while the provender as cared for by a skilled chef. The engineer of the road was

inclined to seasickness, and having direct knowledge that under the difficulties of a road which included some very steep inclines he had been compelled to admit some sharp curves, he kept the train slowed down at meal times so that there should be no risk of swinging. I think a similar policy was pursued at night, but in any case the sleeping was very comfortable. Hagerman's Pass, which was the highest point reached on this road, is I believe the highest level attained by any railroad on the North American continent. I understand that the railroad which crosses South America from Peru is, however, carried up still higher.

We had an interesting short sojourn at Leadville which, through the recent discovery of some rich silver lodes, was becoming one of the most important mining centres of the country. The settlement was then emerging from a mining camp into a more or less civilized town. It had a church and a bank and a mayor. The mayor was the president of the bank and the principal supporter of the church. He took pains to meet our train, which arrived in the evening, and, in extending greetings, to offer the hospitality of the town. We preferred our car staterooms to anything that the hotel could offer and in this preference the mayor said that we were quite right.

I took an evening walk through the town with the mayor, and we went first to his bank where he wanted to get some papers. The bank windows, instead of being protected by shutters, were lighted up from within, so that the whole interior of the bank could be seen by the watchmen or policemen from the sidewalk. I think this method of bank protection was at the time a comparative novelty. I stepped in with the president and we passed within the horseshoe enclosure where were placed the desks of the tellers and clerks. Each clerk had at his right hand, not in sight from outside the enclosure but very conven-

ient for immediate use, a five- or six-chambered revolver; and similar revolvers were in place on the desks of the president and of the cashier. I said nothing, but the president noted my enquiring expression. "Yes," he said, "we insure here against all possible risks, but we don't have hold-ups in Leadville and we don't intend to have them. We leave such things as Northampton and Glenwood robberies for the so-called civilized regions of the East." He was referring to a recent very serious burglary that had taken place in the quiet old town of Northampton, Massachusetts, and to a more dramatic although less profitable affair in Glenwood, Iowa. For the Colorado man, Iowa was still to be described as "East." With some army memories, I spoke of the difficulty of teaching men how to shoot straight, particularly under a sudden emergency, and suggested that if at any time the clerks became excited, there would be risk of mischief and the parties injured might easily not be the intended robbers. "Oh!" he said, "we have provided for that. Our boys are well trained and know how to handle pistols. I have a shooting match once a month with a golden eagle [$10] for a prize. There isn't one of these men who can't take out the centre of a five of spades at a distance of" (I do not undertake now to recall how many, "yards; and," continued the president, "I invite the town to see the match. Everybody knows that these boys can shoot." "That is very interesting," I said, "but how about the possibility of this group of skilled marksmen turning their pistols some day upon the president and the cashier and cleaning out the bank for their own account?" "Well," he answered, "that is a possibility, but we know our men and we do not consider the risk serious. We have, however, made some provision against even such a risk. The cashier and myself are provided each with two five-chambered revolvers which lie in these little spring-locked drawers on

the right and of these the clerks have no knowledge. We have ten shots apiece and that ought to be enough." I came away from the bank with the feeling that its safety *was* very fully insured; and while it has at times held some millions in silver bullion waiting transit to the smelting furnaces at Denver, I have never heard of any assault upon its treasury.

I had a pleasant winter in Colorado Springs. The climate was delicious mainly on the ground of the freedom of the air from moisture. The temperature went at times far below zero, but in the middle of the day, the sunshine was warm and the perfect dryness of the air prevented the cold from striking into the human frame, or prevented the heat of the body from being abstracted, which is, of course, the same thing. The air seemed also to have contained an inspiriting proportion of ozone which made everyone, even the invalids, feel hopeful. The town contained at that time about twelve thousand people. There was no business done excepting that required for the support of the sojourners. It was a place of residents. The people were there mainly for the restoration of their own health or as companions to the invalids. I had at first dreaded the thought of being in an atmosphere of invalidism; it seemed as if the effect must be depressing. I found, however, that but a small proportion of the people were on the sick list, as a whole family would come to the place for the sake of one member whose lungs were in trouble; I found further that the invalids themselves were, as said, by no means discouraged. Not a few had come too late and it was with them only a question of extending their lives for a few months, but even these were cheerful. A large proportion, those whose physicians had hurried them off from the East before the insidious disease had made too much progress, were so far strengthened by the high atmosphere of the Colorado plains (the Springs itself

was 6000 feet above the sea) that their lives were prolonged for a series of years, although in the majority of cases they were not permitted again to go eastward.

The town lay almost at the base of the picturesque mountain, Pike's Peak, which puts out into the plain as if it were an advance picket of the great mass of the Rockies. The railroad by which the Peak has since been made accessible for the lazier or more hurried tourist was not built until some ten years later and at this time some hard climbing was required in order to reach the top of the mountain. It was possible to save one's breath by using horses or mules for about half of the distance, but the remainder of the ascent was practicable only for a pedestrian who was not only fairly sturdy on his feet, but whose heart and lungs were not easily affected by the rarified air. I had never before realized how seriously the difficulty of physical effort is increased by the greater thinness of the air as one ascends. The Peak is, if I remember rightly, not very much lower than Mt. Blanc; but its latitude is so much lower that the apex is free from snow for nearly half a year. I was told however that ice remained in the crevices or ravines throughout the entire twelve months.

I made two attempts in the course of the winter to get to the top, succeeding the second time. On the first trip our party of four included General Palmer, who as an experienced horseman and campaigner was the leader, his neighbour and close friend Dr. W. A. Bell, and a young Mr. Mellen, a brother-in-law of Palmer's. The month was January and the ground was completely covered with ice and snow which presented a good deal of an obstacle. We started from Manitou Springs, where Dr. Bell had built for himself a beautiful great stone house, in the model of an English country seat, that bore the name of Briarhurst, and had a ride of six or seven miles before getting to the point where the horses had to be left. The

bridle path was fairly manageable for the prairie ponies, unshod, if I remember rightly, who were accustomed to picking their way over difficulties. We reached a point, however, where some snow had carried down the slope a portion of the path, leaving a gap of twenty or thirty feet. Palmer concluded that it would be possible to pull the horses up the slope and around the gap, and after some labour this was effected for the three prairie ponies. The scrub oak with which the slope was covered gave help for the footing. Palmer's horse, a larger and more spirited beast, was left for the last. The General tried to pull and we helped, but the horse had made up his mind that the slope was not a proper one for a decent beast to attack and he was too strong for all of us. After some argument with the horse, Palmer soothed him down as he thought and then undertook to drive him from behind. The horse accepted the orders of his master and made a vigorous attempt at the slope. He got up a few feet, then slipped and fell and rolled down sideways. We who were standing above, too far off to be of any service, thought for the moment that the horse was rolling over his master; but Palmer with presence of mind had made a jump for an overhanging branch and had been able to swing himself sufficiently high for the beast to roll beneath his feet. The horse brought up not many feet below against a fortunate barrier of scrub oak and lay there with h s four feet in the air, absolutely disgusted with the stupidity of men. We hurried down, congratulated our friend on his very narrow escape, and after a good deal of effort succeeded in getting the beast again upon his feet. His nostrils were washed out with a little whiskey and water, and after he had been thoroughly soothed down, he was taken first down the slope a little way in order to reassure him, and then, cleverly turned by his master, he was induced to scramble up over a larger circuit which involved a little less steep-

ness of ascent. The temperature at this time was about ten below zero and we had all become so chilled with the delay that it was a decided relief to be able a little later to tether the horses in a half-way house, constructed for the purpose, and to tackle the rest of the ascent on our own feet. We made good progress up to the foot of the final slope, but there we encountered a sudden little blizzard coming from the west which blew with such force that we absolutely could not stand up against it on a slope that was so icy as to give at best but a treacherous footing. After several fruitless attempts to go over on our feet, we finally succeeded in getting across on our hands and knees, but the blast was too strong on the upper and western edge. There was risk of our being chilled through, the more particularly as the wind carried with it particles of ice which pierced right through our clothing. Palmer ordered us to retreat and we found shelter under a cliff on the eastern edge of the final slope and there we waited for the squall to blow over. If it had been a real blizzard, we might, I suppose, have remained under the cliff until this day. Fortunately it was only a squall, but it lasted so long, probably for an hour or two, and we were so chilled when the air had again cleared up and we could see the way, that there was nothing to do but to make a hurried rush downward for warmth and for safety. We got back with no further disasters than a few frostbites.

A month later, when the temperature was a little less keen and the softened ice gave a better footing for the horses, we tried again and with success.

General Palmer was in many ways a typical American. He was a mechanical engineer by profession and at the outbreak of the Civil War he had been the foreman of a department of a machine shop in Pennsylvania. When he decided to enlist, his employers gave him leave of absence with the promise that his place should be held for him as

long as possible. He raised a cavalry company, but he had not been long in active service before, on the principle of natural selection and survival of the fittest, he became colonel of the regiment. After the battle of Antietam in September, 1862, when it was very important to learn in what direction Lee had moved his army, Palmer volunteered to go across the Potomac in citizen's clothes and find out. He took with him one of his own sergeants, also without a uniform, and it was arranged that in case they were captured, they should take the characters of farmers from Tennessee who were in sympathy with the Confederates. Palmer was to offer for sale certain horses that he had available on his Tennessee ranch and the sergeant was to pose as a farrier who had direct knowledge of the horses and could guide to his master's home the Confederate quartermaster who might be willing to make a purchase. Palmer got the information required and had nearly regained our lines when he unfortunately ran into a Confederate cavalry picket. The two men were taken up as suspicious characters, and suspicious they certainly were. The sergeant was, however, put to work at shoeing horses, a trade which fortunately he really did understand; while Palmer was sent off to Castle Thunder in Richmond, where were retained for longer or shorter terms all prisoners other than soldiers. It was the custom at Castle Thunder, as Palmer told me (and as I verified afterwards during my own sojourn as a prisoner in Richmond), for the roll to be called each morning, at which probably very few men answered to their proper name, and each morning one or two or more were carried off to be shot or hanged as spies. Palmer felt fairly sure that his turn must come in the near future. As an old soldier, he realized, of course, that he had accepted service as a spy and was liable to the consequences. He was recognized by two men in the prison who had undertaken similar

difficult service and who had, like Palmer, come to grief, but the three men knew too much to convey to each other any sign of recognition in the presence of their associates, some of whom were Confederate spies, placed there for the purpose of finding out the secrets of the prisoners. Palmer was finally fortunate enough to be exchanged for a similarly "suspicious character" who had been locked up in the capitol prison in Washington and whom the Federal authorities had not been able fully to identify. When he got back to his command, he found a brigadier's commission awaiting him and he did brilliant service through the war first in charge of his brigade and later as division commander. At the close of the war, with a few commissions in his pocket but with no savings, Palmer made his way back to his Pennsylvania works and asked about his place. The manager told him that the war had lasted so much longer than had been expected, that it had been found necessary to fill the place and there was at the time no other vacancy. He said the directors were very sorry to have to give such a report, but that if Palmer would call the following morning, they might have some other suggestion to make. Palmer went away not a little troubled, but on calling the next day, he found awaiting him an invitation to take charge as receiver of a Western railroad that had gotten into difficulties, and this offer, accepted with gratitude, started Palmer on his career as a successful railroad manager. He retired as a railroad manager when he was about seventy-two and signalized his retirement by leaving a fund of one million dollars to be divided among the employees of the road in proportion to their salaries and their relative length of service.

Kossuth and Apponyi. I had a boy's recollection of the arrival in New York in 1851 of Kossuth, the picturesque leader of the unsuccessful revolution in Hungary. It was the hope of Kossuth to secure in the States contributions

of money, and possibly also the service of volunteers who could be utilized for a scheme that was then in train for a fresh attempt for Hungarian independence. Kossuth and the other leaders of 1848 had secured a preliminary success against the armies of Austria, and if it had not been for the aid given to Vienna by the forces of Russia, it is possible that Hungary might as early as 1849 have secured the independence that finally came to it in 1866 through the needs of the Empire at the time of the contest with Prussia.

My father was a member of the committee that arranged for the reception of Kossuth and extended to him hospitality on behalf of the city. There remains to me a memory of the picturesque figure of the Hungarian orator, and an impression of piercing eyes and shaggy dark locks beneath an imposing sombrero. Kossuth spoke English not only fluently but with elegance and force, and he so far impressed successive American audiences as to secure some thousands of dollars and the aid of some hundreds of volunteers; but the second revolution never came off.

The visit of Kossuth was recalled to me half a century later when I found myself a member of a committee extending hospitality to a later Hungarian leader, Count Apponyi. The Count came, however, not as a revolutionist, but as a member of the government of the King of Hungary, a government which divided with Austria the control of the dual Empire. Apponyi was, like Kossuth, impressive in his personal appearance. He was several inches over six feet in height, and his massive form carried a well-formed and dignified head. He had a good mastery of English, so that his speech was impressive and at times eloquent. The harmony of his sojourn in the States was somewhat interfered with by protests raised in New York, and later with more emphasis in Chicago, on the part of representatives of the Slovenians, Lithuanians,

and other race groups of dwellers in the territory of Hungary. These Slavic representatives contended that Apponyi and the Hungarian administration behind him did not stand, and never had stood, for free government conducted on a representative basis and with due regard to the rights and the interests of all the peoples concerned. Pamphlets were brought into print in Chicago and in New York giving accounts of the continued oppression exercised by the Magyars over their fellow-citizens in Hungary, oppression which was particularly obnoxious in the attempt to control the educational system and in interference, amounting at times to terrorism, with the voters at the polls.

The Hungarians, who had made a plucky fight for their own independence, were, as these Slavic representatives contended, entirely unwilling to grant freedom or justice to their immediate neighbours. After reading these pamphlets and considering also certain rejoinders that came from Magyars in America, I could but conclude that there was good foundation for the protests of the Slavs. The eloquent appeals made by Apponyi for the cause of world peace might, I felt, have been more effective if the speaker had been able to tell us that he was using his great personal influence with his countrymen for maintaining within Hungary itself peace with justice. In common with some other New Yorkers, I resigned from the committee, and I believe that Apponyi, who had not been permitted to speak in Chicago, left without any formal farewell greetings.

Some Generals and Others. In 1897, a few months after the election of President McKinley, I found myself on the steamer *St. Paul* en route for London via Southampton. We had a full and rather distinguished company which included General Horace Porter, the new Ambassador for Paris, General Miles, commander-in-chief of the

army, Mr. Osborne, Consul-General for England, Mr. Goudy, Consul-General for France, and my good friend General Thomas W. Hyde of Maine. There were also some other veterans associated with General Miles. I had noted with some curiosity that among the names on the passenger list connected with the title of "general" were those of Osborne and Goudy. I asked General Miles what service these two "generals" had had. He replied: "Major, I thought I knew about the men who had won the title of general but the careers of these two officers are quite unfamiliar. I detail you, sir, to secure the record and to give me a report. I ought to know what service they have rendered." I got myself properly introduced by the purser (with whom I had sailed before) to "General" Osborne. My London House carried on export business and it was quite in order for me to know the new Consul-General. I found Osborne very ready to have word with somebody who could tell him about conditions in London. He had, it seems, never been across the Atlantic and he wanted to know, and needed to know, something about the methods and requirements of the consul's office, and also, for the sake of his family (he had with him wife and children), the best methods for establishing a home in London. When I had answered questions in regard to business and domestic matters, I came to my official enquiry. "You have served, General?" "Yes," he said, "I went out with my cousin's regiment." (I remembered that his name was William McKinley Osborne.) "Yes," I said, "the 26th Ohio, but that was a nine months' regiment. With what command did you serve later?" "Oh!" he said, "I did not go out after the regiment's term had expired. I came back as a sergeant and did not have the opportunity for further advancement." "I suppose, then," I continued, "that your title of general came to you for service on the governor's staff." "No,"

he said, "I never did have the title of general, but when I got into politics, the boys remembered that I had been in the war and either for fun or for political convenience they dubbed me with the name of general and the title has stuck." "That may be all right in Ohio," I said, "but you will not find it wise to carry any such title in London. As an important representative of the United States, you might find yourself invited to the Army and Navy Club, for instance, and there you would be questioned in regard to your military experience. It would cause annoyance not only to yourself, but to all of us to have an English officer criticizing the American representative for carrying a bogus title." There was not really much probability of the veterans of the Army and Navy Club interesting themselves in the American Consul but the chance served well enough to emphasize my point. Mr. Osborne thanked me for my advice and promised that the title, carelessly printed in the passenger list, should not be continued in London.

The record of Mr. Goudy was very similar. I had no business or probability of business with the office of our consul in Paris, and as I found Goudy not only offish but somewhat inclined to be bumptious, I took with him a somewhat more decided stand. He it seems had gone out from his native State (Indiana) with a nine months' regiment and had returned as second lieutenant. As was the case with Osborne, he had seen no further military service and his title of "general" had in like manner come to him as a political convenience for a man who had been in charge of the State Republican Committee. "Mr. Goudy," I said, "you must bear in mind that Paris has always been a military capital. In addition to the resident officers of the French army, there are connected with the staffs of the several ambassadors or as sojourners in Paris distinguished soldiers from all parts of the world. The

military standard is exacting. If," I continued (drawing I admit somewhat on my imagination) "some distinguished general should find himself in social relations with a man carrying the title without warrant, it would be considered grounds for a challenge. You would be called upon either to fight a duel or to accept social contumely." "Why, Major," said Goudy, "I had not realized that any such serious consequences could follow. You know that these titles are used with us (that is to say in the West) rather loosely, but certainly I should not wish to do anything contrary to the standard of Paris."

I doubt whether he would have ventured to put "general" on cards for use in Paris, but in order to make sure, after giving my report to General Miles, I had a word about Goudy with General Porter, whom I had known as a New Yorker and also as past commander of our New York Loyal Legion. "It is all right, Major, I will see to it," said Porter, "that Mr. Goudy does not pose as a general in Paris."

Columbia College and University. In the late fifties, when my father's place of business was at 321 Broadway, the south windows of his office overlooked the beautiful grounds of the New York Hospital, which then fronted upon Broadway. I had friends among the sons of the professors of Columbia College, which at that time held the territory assigned to its predecessor, the old King's College, covering what is now College Place and extending, if I remember rightly, nearly to the river. Crossing the green of the hospital and the line which marked the grounds of the lower College Place, I could reach the campus of the college. I remember hearing old Thorburn, the seed dealer, who knew many things and whose conversation gave the impression of knowing everything, say that the acres of the hospital and the college comprised more varieties of trees than could be found within the same

extent of ground anywhere in the Northern States. The President of the college was Dr. Charles King, who was succeeded in 1864 by F. A. P. Barnard. I recall the name of Professor Hackley of the mathematical faculty, whose son Victor was in those days one of my playmates, and of Professor Anthon, then a young instructor, who was just beginning his famous series of annotated classical text-books, which, meeting as they did the needs of generations of the lazier students, brought fame and fortune to their editor.

I renewed my relations with Columbia in the spring of 1860, when, graduating from the Columbia Grammar School (I recall with satisfaction that I was at the head of the Greek and Latin classes and second in mathematics), I was admitted as a freshman for the class of '64. Under the influence of Professor Anthon, who was the owner of the grammar school, the matriculation examinations of the college for the pupils coming up from the school, and particularly for those who had won honours in the school, were but nominal. I was called upon to do but little with the professor of Latin, Drisler, and absolutely nothing in the Greek room, which was presided over by Anthon himself. I had, therefore, a feeling of annoyance, and as if I was not being treated with full justice, when a comparatively youthful instructor named Van Amringe insisted upon putting me through a real examination in mathematics. Fortunately, although the questions were unexpected, I stood the test, but at this date, fifty-five years later, I still find myself giving an occasional growl at my dear old friend, now Dean emeritus of the college and the only survivor of the faculty of those earlier years, for the botheration that he brought upon the small student of 1860.

Fifty-two years after I had succeeded in meeting the requirements of my old friend Van Amringe, Columbia,

in which, owing to the breakdown of my eyes, I had never done any work and from which I had, therefore, not been able to secure a bachelor's degree, was good enough to compliment me with the degree of Doctor of Letters. I had already secured this honour from Pennsylvania, but it was, of course, very satisfactory to have the recognition come from a faculty many of the members of which were old-time friends and associates.

I found myself in association during the function of June, 1912, with a representative and curiously diverse group of men who were also at the time securing a Columbia "label." The new "Doctors" included Chief Justice White of the Supreme Court, Colonel Goethals, who was bringing to triumphant completion at Panama the great engineering feat of the century, Dr. Hibben, the good-looking, newly inaugurated President of Princeton, and Oscar Underwood, who as leader of the Democratic majority in the House of Representatives was giving evidence of the qualities of a statesman. It would have been difficult to bring five men together whose achievements great or small had been arrived at in such a variety of channels of activity. While we were sitting in the room of Columbia's President, waiting for the function, I had an amusing little tilt with the Chief Justice. He was just old enough to have seen service in the Confederate ranks during the Civil War and had attained the rank of a sergeant. In some mention of his earlier experiences in his home State, Louisiana, he referred to a battle in which he had been engaged as one of the many "Confederate victories." I asked whether "His Honour" was speaking with the authority of the Supreme Court or with the fading memory of a Confederate veteran. "Major," he answered, "I claim no better authority for my memory of matters of half a century back than I should give to your own. What correction have you to suggest?" I then

submitted my suggestion. I contended that the fighting in question, at which I also happened to be present (as adjutant in my regiment), had been in substance a success for the Federal troops. After which statement we "had it out" for a few minutes, much to the amusement of the men about us who had "grown up since the war."

I was impressed later at the commemoration lunch with the references that were made as if to men of antiquity to the graduates of the "early eighties." It happened that President Butler and President Hibben were (each in his own college) graduates of 1882 and it seemed to be the impression on the part of several at least of the speakers that it was hardly civil to think of any classes or events back of the graduation of their own President. As far as I could ascertain from the words spoken, there was nobody present from the class that should have been my own. 1864 seemed to belong to a very shadowy past indeed.

Bowdoin College. When I was in my fiftieth year, I received, with a full appreciation of the compliment, an honorary degree from Bowdoin College. I had no personal acquaintances with the trustees or the faculty, and I had been looking forward from year to year to making the opportunity to visit Brunswick, the birthplace of my father. The college had given a similar degree to my father in his fiftieth year, and in speaking to him of the incident, he had said, naïvely, that the only service that he could remember ever having rendered to the institution was that when a boy of twelve (just before he left Brunswick for Boston and New York), he had had the opportunity of giving the alarm of fire. It was the noon hour, and the roof had been ignited by the blowing over of a fire-pot which had been left by careless roofers when they went home for dinner. I went to Brunswick to receive my degree and came into relations with that

most admirable college president, capable author, and wide-minded citizen, President Hyde, and with the members of the small but very efficient college. I was also called upon to give a talk to the students, which I devoted to matters connected with the history of the Civil War.

Having been accepted into the Brunswick circle, I have had the privilege since 1894 of dining with the alumni and have come into cordial sympathy with the purposes of the sturdy little New England college and with the character of the citizens that it has sent out to New York and elsewhere. It is in the Bowdoin circle that I have come into personal relations with men like President Hyde, James McKeon, Admiral Peary, General Thomas H. Hubbard, and other good citizens. General Hubbard's life has closed within a few weeks of the writing of these lines. I had met him during the Red River campaign in Louisiana, where he commanded—and commanded well—first his Maine regiment and later a brigade. I came into association with him later in the gatherings of the Loyal Legion in New York and in the Century Club, and I found a third common interest in meeting him at the dinners of the Bowdoin men, by whom he was held in high regard as the patron saint of the college. Thomas Hubbard was a good all-around citizen. He seems to have done well whatever he undertook to do, and he undertook to do good things. He was a good soldier, making the most of his opportunities; a good lawyer, coming to the front of his profession and utilizing his opportunities and his relations with wealthy clients for steering moneys to channels where they could be most useful; and a loyal friend to all in need, and particularly to the Maine men and to the graduates of Bowdoin.

In the college circle I was adopted into the class of 1864. I remember at one of the meetings, when the representatives of the different classes were making confessions of

the sins of their respective years, there happened to be no graduate present of 1864. The duty fell upon me, therefore, to report upon the sins of the class, and I made confession of such a serious lot of misdeeds of my classmates that they had their hands full later in explaining away the wicked imagination of their honorary member.

University of Pittsburg. I should not wish to close this chapter of experiences without making due recognition to the graceful hospitality of the University of Pittsburg (formerly the University of Western Pennsylvania), which some twenty years back was interested in including my name in the list of its Doctors of Literature. I have, since becoming a member of the University, made several visits to Pittsburg, the first for the purpose of receiving the degree and of making acknowledgment in due course in the form of an historical address to the students. I have always found myself impressed with the twofold energy of this wonderful city. Below, along the banks of the river, is the long series of furnaces from which are poured forth the great steel constructions that make so large a contribution to the wealth of the country. Above, on a kind of Olympus, are grouped together the buildings of the University, the Carnegie Institute, the Phipps Botanical Gardens, the art galleries, etc. From this upper height, one looks over the titanic energy of the operations of the furnaces, which are not permitted to interfere in any way with the intellectual and artistic processes that are developed in the upper plane. But on this plane also there is full evidence of energy. Pittsburg has, under the initiative and with the liberality of its enterprising citizens, men like Carnegie, Dr. Holland, Colonel Church, and others, maintained a leading position among American cities in its support of art undertakings as well as of scientific training. The whole combination of furnaces, city universities, and art galleries make together a

wonderful and typical epitome of American life. For the suggestion which included my name in the list of scholars honoured by the university, I was, I understand, indebted to my good friend Colonel Samuel Harden Church, who is himself an example of the Pittsburg method of combining two sets of energies. Church is one of the efficient railroad managers of the country; but he has made himself an authority on certain divisions of English history, and has so far interested himself in executive work connected with scientific undertakings that he is at this time in charge of the executive work of the Carnegie Institute. He represents a fine type of the typical, effective, public-spirited American.

Loyal Legion. One other association calls for reference in this chapter, the subjects of which are, I admit, sufficiently varied. I was pleased a few years after the war to have an opportunity of accepting membership in the Loyal Legion, the association of veteran officers of the Civil War. This association was brought into being in Philadelphia a few years after the war with a purpose similar to that which influenced Alexander Hamilton and other of the officers associated with Washington in organizing in 1786 the Society of the Cincinnati. It seemed proper that the memories of the war should be preserved by the men who had done their part in saving the Republic and that the association should be so organized that with the inclusion later of the sons of the veterans the traditions of the fight for the Union could be handed down from generation to generation. There is a pleasure in meeting once or twice in the course of the year men some of whom one meets in no other relations and whose presence and conversations recall the campaign experiences of half a century back. It is interesting to see men whose years now range from seventy-two to ninety amusing themselves towards midnight with the army songs which they had

learned fifty years back as youngsters. The Legion has always contained a full representation of citizens who had not only done their part as soldiers, but whose services have been valuable to the Republic in later years in other directions of activity. The sadness of such an association is the fact that at each gathering, and increasingly, of course, during the later years, there are more empty chairs. The men who as public-spirited youngsters did their part in saving the Republic are now, of necessity, rapidly passing away. Some years back, at the time when I was complimented with election as senior vice-commander of the Legion, I had occasion to give a talk to the "boys." They had for fifty years been telling stories to each other of the way in which they had saved the Republic, and in this address I was interested in giving them a suggestion in another direction. I took the ground that we, the veterans, had not saved the Republic at all. We had done our part to be sure, but if it had not been for the service of certain noteworthy citizens, men like the President to begin with, the great citizens who worked with the President for the organization of the state and the maintenance of the armies in the field, and the ministers abroad, particularly those at the fighting points in Paris and in London, the Republic would, notwithstanding our valiant efforts on the firing line, have been broken up. My lecture was entitled "The Men Behind the Guns," and while, by implication, it carried some criticism on the vanity of our veterans, it was well received.

Lectures. During the twenty-five years immediately succeeding the war, the veterans were in superabundance throughout the country. People were fatigued with the war and found themselves increasingly annoyed with the burdens of taxation produced by the war. They wanted to hear nothing more about slavery and were not interested in the various influences which had, in the first place,

delayed and then had finally brought about the success of the North. During the past ten years, I have, however, found a very different relation on the part of the community at large to the veterans who are still physically capable of recalling their experiences. A generation has grown up which knows about the war only as a kind of legend. It is not yet as clearly recorded in the school-book history as were the contests of the Revolution, and the men who had been born during the war, or had grown up just this side of the decision at Appomattox, found themselves without any precise knowledge as to even the larger events of the struggle. Those of us, therefore, who are able to give some kind of account as to what had brought about the war, the nature of the anti-slavery contest, the issues between the statesmen and political leaders prior to the beginning of hostilities, the election of Lincoln, the leadership of Lincoln during the war, and the final events of the war settlement, have been in increasing demand as speakers to audiences made up of this later generation. I have found myself interested in giving lectures from year to year in the historical courses of institutions like Princeton, Columbia, Yale, Dartmouth, Wesleyan, Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, Mt. Holyoke, etc., and the request of the instructor in charge of the department would take some such shape as: "Now, Major, I have given the students the outline of events. I want you to fill in the atmosphere." I find it decidedly interesting to talk to the right kind of American student who does not know and who wants to know just what it was that his grandfather or his father had been fighting for and what was brought about by the fighting. I have the feeling also that a certain duty rests upon the man of one generation to pass on to his successors a record as faithful as he knows how to make it of the work that has been done by the men of his own time. No one account will be trustworthy, but

a number of accounts taken together and fairly collated do go to make the current history of the time. It would have been of service and of interest to the men of my generation if our fathers and grandfathers had been good enough to hand down to us fuller personal records of their experiences in the War of 1812 and that of the Revolution.

CHAPTER XII

Work on the Grand Jury

1879–1914

I HAVE been called upon to serve on the Grand Jury during a long series of years. My term began in 1879 and at this time (1914) I have just completed my service, being entitled to retirement under the age limit. As is always the case with any juror of long service, I have had my full share of responsibility as foreman; and in directing from time to time the investigations of the jury into the work of the city government, I have not infrequently found myself in conflict with Tammany officials. It was partly because my name had become known in Grand Jury investigations that I was asked to serve as a member of the Committee of Fifteen, the work of which is referred to on another page. The Grand Jury service is exacting and in more ways than one troublesome for a citizen whose days are fairly well occupied with business and with other interests. The foreman has the responsibility for the selection and direction of the investigations of the jury and it is not possible for him to secure, as can the other members, freedom for one or more days in the week. He is also obliged to give to the shaping of the day's work, and to clearing up the record after the session, a good deal more time than is required from his fellow-members. The work is, however,

interesting. It enables a man to secure an understanding that would not otherwise come to him of the machinery of city government and of the methods, good, bad, and indifferent, of individual officials. He secures also a picture—and a very sad picture—of the amount of trouble that persists in the community and that shadows the lives of a great number of unfortunates, men and women who are not less but more unfortunate because their actions have been criminal and their continued existence is really a nuisance to the community.

The routine work of the Grand Jury has to do with the dismissal on the one hand of unsubstantiated complaints against persons who have been brought under charges before the city magistrates or in other ways, and the framing of indictments against such of these persons as in the judgment of not less than twelve men of the twenty-three ought to be brought for trial in the criminal court. It is essential that this routine work be performed without delay so that people under arrest secure prompt action in their cases in one way or the other, as otherwise the Tombs Prison and the House of Detention become overcrowded and serious injustice is caused to people a number of whom are innocent of crime. Apart, however, from this routine business or whenever the docket of impending cases is sufficiently clear, it is the duty of the Grand Jury to make investigation as to the methods of work in the several departments of the city government and as to any conditions in the city which affect the public welfare. During the thirty days in which it is in session, the Grand Jury acts as the representative of the great body of the citizens of the county. It can call before it any one of the city officials, not excluding the mayor himself, and can institute investigations into their official action and the discharge of their responsibilities. In later years, it has been found necessary, in order that these general investi-

gations should not be neglected while the routine matter of passing upon persons under charges is being duly cared for, to keep in session each month two grand juries and from time to time there has been requirement for not less than three.

The list of citizens liable for Grand Jury service had up to 1910 been restricted to one thousand, and for a series of years this number had not been increased although with the growth of the city the responsibilities placed upon the grand juries had been enormously added to. I took occasion as foreman as far back as 1898 to call attention in a presentment to the serious increase in the labours placed upon the Grand Jury and to the importance of making an addition to the lists of citizens available for the service. Other foremen repeated my recommendations and finally, in 1910, the list of grand jurors was raised to two thousand.

Question arises from time to time as to the possible superfluousness of the work of the Grand Jury. So able a jurist and so public-spirited a citizen as ex-President Taft has recently expressed his opinion that the Grand Jury could safely be abolished. I am myself of opinion that it is called upon for a good deal of work which could be done certainly as effectively and with much less expense of time by smaller bodies or by individual officials. It is absurd to have twenty-three representative citizens giving hours of time to deciding whether or not a coloured gentleman was a little worse for liquor and had or had not threatened his friend with a razor. Charges of this kind for petty assault, or for threatened assault, or for carrying concealed weapons, or for the thousand and one misdemeanours that darken, or lighten up, as the case may be, the life of a big city, can be more economically, and on the whole more effectively, taken care of by properly selected magistrates than by a body of twenty-three citizens. The institution ought, however, not to be brought to an end.

I am of opinion that the authority given to a selected group of citizens to look into the methods under which the business of their city is carried on in its various departments and by its different officials is often a very valuable authority indeed, and in fact, during the past years its value has been proved by not a few instances. There is no other way in which citizens not holding office can bring criticism directly to bear upon the officials who, while selected by the body of citizens, do from time to time forget during the years of their office whence their own authority is derived and what the real purpose of their officeholding may be. It may easily happen that these officials feel a larger responsibility to the leaders of the political body through whom their positions have been secured than to the interests of the people of the community whose servants they really are. When the Grand Jury has been freed from petty and trivial matters with which it should never have been charged, it will have more time and better opportunity to maintain and develop its functions as the watchdog of the interests of the citizens at large.

In the early eighties, a jury of which I was foreman was called upon to investigate the failure of Grant & Ward, which had on several grounds excited a widespread interest. General Grant, recently retired from the Presidency, was a special partner in the firm of which the active management was in the hands of Ferdinand Ward, then known as the "young Napoleon of finance." Two sons of the General were associated as active partners, and indeed a large purpose in the General's mind in entering upon the undertaking was to secure a business opening for his boys. The fact that the Marine Bank, which had through the operations of Grant & Ward been brought to insolvency, had on deposit moneys belonging to the city, gave to the jury the right to look into the affairs both of the bank and of the firm. Fish, the president of the Marine

Bank, and Ferdinand Ward were, as it was shown, in close alliance in their operations, operations which involved a large use, and in the end the loss, of great sums of money belonging to other people. Grant & Ward had during the last year of their business secured investments or subscriptions from a number of people, including some well-known and experienced financiers, in what they called the "contract division" of their undertakings. Ward gave out to favoured friends in whispered communications the information that through the influence of their special partner (General Grant) the firm had been able to secure some exceptionally valuable government contracts. It was, as he emphasized, essential if this business were to be continued and if the reputation of the General were to be protected, that no information should come to the public in regard to these profitable relations with the government. The people to whom was given the opportunity of making investments in these contracts were told that they would have to take the business, so to speak, on trust and that it was not possible to give any information whatsoever as to the details.

At the time the jury took up the investigation of the business, Ward, who had been tried and convicted for obtaining money under false pretences, and I believe also for forgery, was already under sentence for a prison term. We secured a delay in the sending of Ward to Sing Sing in order that he might give testimony before us. Ward had at the time nothing further to fear for himself and his testimony was curiously frank and was both intelligent and effective. He appeared before us and identified from the books of the firm which were then in the control of the court the famous record of contracts. He explained that this belonged to what were called the private books of the concern and that all the entries were in his own script. The book was labelled, "Special contracts. Personal.

F. W." The entry on the first page carried some fairly high number, say 157. I asked, "Is this the first record of contracts?" "Yes." "Where is the record covering the earlier contracts, 1–156?" "There is no such record because there were no such contracts." "This entry covers then the first contract in the series? Why is it number 157 instead of 1?" "It looked better. It gave the impression of a continuing business." The entries were very brief, giving merely the figures of the investments and of the results, but no details of operations. The figures read somewhat as follows: "Contract 157. Investors G. & W. $5000.; M. B. (Marine Bank) $5000. F. (Fish) $5000; N. L. T. (at that time city chamberlain) $5000," and other initials standing, as in the case of T., for well-known citizens of financial responsibility. On the line below was specified at a date, say, four months later, the results or proceeds of this contract. Net proceeds say (I am speaking of course from memory and only approximately), $23,350.25. This amount was divided below, in figures written in red ink, into the shares belonging to the several investors with the initials repeated, and the "profits" having been so apportioned, the record of contract number 157 was balanced and closed. The succeeding entries were precisely similar in form, the initials varying as different investors came in. Certain initials were, however, repeated pretty regularly from contract to contract. "What did this business, number 157, represent?" "There was no business." "Do you mean that nothing was bought or sold? or that no service was rendered by the firm to the government or to other parties?" "None whatever." "How then did you secure the proceeds specified as over $23,000?" "There were no proceeds." "How then did you arrive at the figures of these proceeds written here in red ink?" "I wrote them in and reported accordingly to the investors." "Did these investors draw the moneys

that were placed to their credit?" "No, they were so pleased with the returns secured that in nearly every case they asked us to re-invest these moneys in further or continuing contracts." "Did General Grant have any knowledge of the manner in which his name was being used for this so-called contract business?" "Not the slightest. If the General had known, the business would have been brought to an end at once." "Did his sons have access to these books?" "No, it was not expected that the younger partners would demand the right to examine these special records." "Did these sons then have any knowledge on their part as to the manner in which their father's name was being used?" "No precise knowledge. They probably had some impression that we were emphasizing to its full value the influence of the ex-President." "Did the General ever visit the office?" "Not very often; I used to report to him from time to time and would now and then show him the figures of our monthly business."

Letters of General Grant which had been found with the papers of the firm were placed before the jury. They were quite characteristic of the simple-hearted confidence of the man. They expressed his great gratification that he had been able to bring his sons into association with so able a financial leader as Mr. Ward. "What use was made of the moneys secured from these several investors if you did not apply them to any government undertakings?" "The moneys were needed for the general undertakings of the firm. We were busy at that time with certain South American investments which seemed to be very promising but which in the end went wrong. It was the failure of these South American schemes that finally brought the firm into trouble." "Were you ever called upon to repay the moneys that had been invested?" "Yes, but not often during the first part of the year. Three or four months before the firm stopped payment, A. B. (and he named a

well-known citizen) called with the word that he would like to have the amount that was then standing to his credit, something like $20,000, and I ordered the bookkeeper to draw a check for the amount. The bookkeeper signalled to me over the head of the caller that we had no such balance available, but under my signalled instructions, he went off to draw the check, an operation which took a little time. During these minutes, I was talking to the investor and I made reference to certain very promising developments in this contract business. By the time the cashier had returned with the check, my visitor had changed his mind about the drawing of the money. He said that he would be glad to have me keep the money for investment in a contract that was then pending. 'No! No!' I said. 'We make a selection in apportioning these investments. We have plenty of friends who are pressing us for a chance to come in. We do not want the name of anybody who has shown lack of confidence. I cannot accept your reinvestment.' And," said Ward, "the man almost went down on his knees to beg me to take back the $20,000 and finally, as a special favour, I accepted the check and tore it up, nodding to the bookkeeper standing in the doorway the instruction to cancel the entry."

Ward interested and amused us all by his perfect frankness. He evidently felt a sense of pleasure in having been able, youngster as he was, to outwit a number of shrewd, experienced business men. He was also honestly desirous of clearing the record of General Grant. His word about the absolute ignorance and innocence of the ex-President was thoroughly confirmed by the letters from Grant and also by the testimony of the two sons. These young men impressed us as on the whole rather obtuse. It was evident that they had no realization of the responsibility that had rested on them for protecting the reputation of their father.

I was well pleased to have had the opportunity, in a special presentment or report on the case of Grant & Ward, of giving a full quittance to my old commander in this serious matter of complicity with the swindling operations of the firm. Grant had lost all his savings, but his reputation, not only with those who knew him but with the community at large, was untouched.

I recall one incident of interest in the trial either of Ward or of Fish. A check for $70,000, drawn by Grant & Ward upon the Marine Bank, had been presented for deposit at some other bank and the broker presenting it wanted to draw against it at once. The cashier receiving it made enquiry by telephone of the Marine Bank as to whether the check was "good," that is to say whether Grant & Ward had at that time any such balance to their credit. The bookkeeper referred the enquiry to Fish, the president of the Marine Bank; and the cashier of the other bank testified: "I recognized and would swear to the identification of the voice of Fish at the other end of the 'phone making the statement that the check 'was good and would be honoured in due course.'" At the time this statement was made, Grant & Ward had but an inconsiderable balance and the check when presented, either for certification or through the Clearing House, was promptly dishonoured. This evidence of the cashier as to the identification of Fish's voice was held as sufficient to convict Fish of conspiracy with Ward to secure money on false pretences. The jury was at first rather unwilling to believe that identification of a voice coming by 'phone could be relied upon. I was told that it was the first instance, at least in New York, in which such an identification of a voice through the telephone was accepted as trustworthy or as legal evidence.

I had an opportunity a little later, when I again served as foreman, of investigating the record of T., who was at

that time commissioner of public works, and of D., a Tammany selection for sheriff. Our reports against both men were sufficiently condemnatory. T. skipped his bail and died shortly after in the West Indies. D. was cleared by a technicality but it was impossible for him again to secure office. He was a discredited man.

I remember in the mass of evidence as to the management of T.'s department an ingenious device for evading the law in regard to public bids for work involving over a thousand dollars. The most noteworthy expenditures during T.'s term of office had been those for the construction of the notorious county court-house. The painting of the dome of the court-house was an expensive matter, the chief item of expense being, as it appeared, the cost of the erection of the very high scaffold required. The painting of the dome, instead of being given out as one job, was divided into sections and the first order covered the painting of only one fourth of the surface. This outlay included of necessity the cost of the scaffolding. The successful bidder put in his scaffolding at less than its cost to him. He secured also, however, the orders for the other three sections including in each case the cost of scaffolding. Having the scaffolding already constructed and in place, he had, of course, for these three later bids, a business advantage which his competitors could not offset. He received, therefore, for this particular job about three prices and the voucher for each section was technically correct. The final cost paid by the city was about three times the market price; and it is not surprising that this fortunate contractor was willing later to give without charge a coat of paint to Mr. T.'s private dwelling.

Some years later, when again serving as foreman, I came into rather sharp conflict with Mr. G., the Tammany district attorney. We had been investigating certain of the city departments and more particularly into the

conduct of the police force. Much evidence had been placed before us, showing the complicity of the police with the operations of criminals and other law-breakers. It was evident that large sums were being paid by these breakers of the law for the protection of the police. It was also pretty clear that the moneys so paid, after certain divisions had been made with the police officials (roundsmen, captains, and inspectors), through whose hands the moneys passed, went into the treasury of Tammany. The notorious D. was at the time chief of police and a certain F., the operations of whose illegal pool-rooms we had occasion to look into, was a brother-in-law of D. and secured the full advantage of the family connection. The evidence indicated that T. S. and other well-known Tammany politicians belonged to the pool-room gang which secured the proceeds of the illegal business; and further evidence associated E., another Tammany leader, with the profitable operations of the association of cadets. We found the work of securing evidence difficult on more grounds than one, but the difficulties were increased very materially by the lethargy, and finally by the active interference, of the district attorney. G. was a well-meaning and rather futile person who was evidently being utilized as a tool by the Tammany authorities to whom he owed his post. The brains of the district attorney were to be found in the two chief assistants, M. and U. The latter, after his term of office had expired, served as counsel for the "cadets." Witnesses whom we took the responsibility of ordering to attend under individual subpœna from the foreman of the jury, would strangely disappear from the city. Other witnesses would report that they would be at our service provided that their evidence need not be given in the presence of any member of the staff of the district attorney. Then, as later, it was a serious matter for a man doing business in the city to have his name come

on to the black-list of Tammany Hall. There were many ways in which under full cover of the law a man could be ruined, or at least his business seriously interfered with.

In the Grand Jury room, after certain routine matters are disposed of, it is customary to send each morning to the office of the district attorney with the word that the jurors are ready for the service of their counsel. A special assistant district attorney is detailed to render the service desired. This includes as a rule the suggestion of the business to be taken up and, particularly in the more important cases, such as charges for murder, the examination of the witnesses. It was in the selection of the business to be considered that the influence of the district attorney had become disproportioned and on the whole detrimental to the interest of the community. It was not unnatural that twenty-three business men brought together for a brief term of authority should hesitate at acting in any way in opposition to the judgment of the trained lawyers who had been designated as their official counsel. If, however, this group of lawyers represented the interests of a combination like that of Tammany Hall, and if there were occasion for the interest of the community to investigate and to condemn the actions of city officials who owed their posts to this same Tammany Hall, it became necessary to act without the aid of the district attorney's office and even to take action in direct opposition to the counsel and the conclusions of the district attorney.

I had been able, through the service of witnesses who had volunteered their testimony, to secure important evidence in regard to the breaking of law and the complicity of the police. Other witnesses I had gotten hold of by subpœnas sent direct instead of, in accordance with the usual routine, through the office of the district attorney. I found that if I used the usual office machinery for securing this testimony, the witnesses would either not report at all,

or, if their first evidence proved likely to be serious, they would then disappear so that they could not be reached later for confirming their testimony in court. I was able to make clear to the jury that the office of the district attorney was being utilized for the protection of the men and of the system that we were calling to account.

On one morning of our session, one of the witnesses, subpœnaed directly by the foreman, had just been sworn, when the district attorney himself, accompanied by one of his assistants, bounced into the room. The mere manner of his entrance was an impertinence, because it was always the rule that admission to the room of the Grand Jury should be requested and no one was expected to pass the barrier until permission had been given by the foreman. Ignoring the form of the entrance, I stated to G. that we were not yet ready for the presence of our legal adviser. I explained that we had certain business to complete which we had undertaken at our own instance and that we would send for our adviser when we were ready for his service. "I am interested in this testimony," replied G. "I desire to stay here to listen to it." I had of course promptly excused the witness so that he should not have knowledge of any issue between the Grand Jury and the district attorney. "I must request you to withdraw," I replied; "this testimony cannot be taken in your presence." "I decline," said the district attorney. "I have the right to be here if it seems to me important for the welfare of the city." "I direct you to withdraw," was my response. "I refuse," said G. Whereupon I adjourned the jury and our twenty-three members, accompanied by the district attorney and his assistant, tramped down to the general sessions' court to present to the presiding judge, the Recorder, the issue that had arisen. The trial proceedings of the court were necessarily interrupted (the business of the Grand Jury always has precedence) and jury, witnesses,

and audience looked on with interest at the novelty of a contest between a district attorney and a Grand Jury. The foreman stated to the Recorder that the business of the Grand Jury had been interrupted and was being blocked by the action of the district attorney. "It is our understanding," I said, "that the Grand Jury, sitting as a court, has full control over its own proceedings and over its own premises; that it has the right to secure the legal service and counsel of the district attorney's office, but that if, on one ground or another, the jury decides to proceed without such legal advice, it has the right so to do on its own responsibility. This morning," I stated, "we have been unable to proceed with certain investigations because our room was invaded by the district attorney and his assistant, who have refused to meet our request or to accept our instructions to withdraw." Mr. G., on being asked by the court what he had to say in reply to the contention of the Grand Jury, began to explain how his patriotic ancestors had been appointed to raise the first American flag in the city of New York. Being interrupted after the waste of some little time of the court and directed to speak to the matter in question, he began an account of his experiences in connection with the battle of Gettysburg. It proved to be impossible to secure from him any legal statement in regard to his right to control the proceedings of the Grand Jury and, against their wishes, to be present at their deliberations. The court then gave its decision in favour of the contention of the Grand Jury. According to the opinion of the Recorder, the Grand Jury did sit as a court and had the right to the full control of its own proceedings. If it made blunders by reason of failure to secure proper counsel and direction, the responsibility for such blunders rested with the twenty-three members and particularly, of course, with the foreman. It had the absolute control over its own premises.

The point was of importance in more ways than one. As far as I could learn, the issue had never before been raised in the county of New York. As before stated, successive district attorneys had gradually assumed the right to direct and control the operations of the Grand Jury. He decided what witnesses should be called, and if he chose, he made the examination of these witnesses. We had now succeeded in establishing a precedent (returning, as I understood, to the original procedure) under which the Grand Jury, representing directly as it did the people at large, retained the entire control of its own investigations and operations, a control subject to no outside authority whatsoever. Its conclusions could, of course, always be set aside if unwarranted by law or by the evidence that they had been able to collect in support of the same.

Supported by this action of the court, we returned to our quarters and proceeded with the examination of the witness whom we had called. My relations with the district attorney during the remaining weeks of the term were naturally strained. It was, of course, necessary to make sure that in our investigations we kept within the limits of our legal rights and for this purpose we required counsel. I arranged with the Recorder, whose uptown home was near my own, to report to him from evening to evening, and I was able in this way to keep him advised as to the conduct of our business and to secure the necessary counsel in the shaping of the series of presentments that we had in preparation. There was still difficulty in regard to one important detail. The stenographer assigned to the Grand Jury was an appointee of the district attorney. Any correspondence, or other papers, dictated by the foreman through this stenographer was promptly brought to the knowledge of the very official against whom at the time we had a presentment in preparation. This was an impossible situation. The foreman and the other members of

the jury were under oath to bring to the knowledge of no person outside of the officials of the court any business that was carried on by them. The foreman was, therefore, not permitted to secure, in the ordinary routine, the service of an outside stenographer. I arranged, however, with the Recorder to have my daughter Ethel sworn in as a special stenographer of the court, her service to remain official during the term of existence of my Grand Jury.

The notes that I took during the morning were dictated to her in the evening and sometimes up to a very late hour, and the papers, correspondence, subpœnas, or presentments as written out by her were passed upon each morning by the jury, and when approved, were signed by the foreman. It is fair to say that the twenty-two members who served with me on the jury, while representing various groups of politics and opinions, gave to the foreman a very substantial backing up in all the undertakings of our service. They came in fact to have a keen personal interest in the purpose and character of the work that we were doing and to enjoy some of the prestige or notoriety that was given to us by the press after the record of the fight with the district attorney had become a matter of public knowledge. Before, however, I had gone very far with the use of my new stenographer (the stenographer of the court was still, of course, utilized for the record of the routine day's work) I was called into court at the instance of the district attorney to meet the charge that I had, in breach of my obligation and of my oath, allowed the business of the court to come into the hands of unofficial and unauthorized parties. G. held up before the Recorder certain typewritten sheets bearing the signature of the foreman which sheets had, as he declared, not been written by the official stenographer. It was evident, therefore, that the foreman was using the services of somebody outside of the court. "What have you to say to this com-

plaint, Mr. Foreman?" "Your honour will recall," I replied, "that, early in this session, for the purpose of facilitating the special work that was being undertaken by this jury, you swore in for our service a special stenographer who is, as I understand, during our time of service, an officer of this court. I can state that no papers having to do with the business of the court have been in the hands of any stenographer excepting the one detailed for our service by the district attorney and the special stenographer appointed by yourself." Poor old G. was very much taken back at this unexpected result of a charge which he had assumed would certainly bring to an end my pernicious and annoying investigations.

At the close of our term, we submitted presentments against the chief of police and against the district attorney. We gave it as the opinion of our jury that the district attorney's office had for some time been utilized for the protection of the police and of other officials who were selling the right to break the law. We recommended that proceedings should be taken by the Governor for the removal of the district attorney. Our presentment was characterized by one or more of the Tammany judges who were associated with the Recorder in the court of the general sessions as an impertinence. Judge F. took the ground that the presentment ought not to find place in the public records of the court. Argument to have the presentment cancelled was made before the court by assistant district attorney U. with the assistance of some other Tammany lawyer. Wheeler H. Peckham volunteered to defend the action of the Grand Jury and its foreman and to deny the right of the court to expunge from its records a presentment that had been framed by an officer of the court in accordance with the regulations in force. A decision was reached by Judge F. in support of the contention of U. and G. and the presentment was ordered to be

expunged from the records. The decision although adverse was of service in emphasizing the importance of the issue that had been raised. The presentment as at first submitted would probably have been forgotten after twenty-four hours. When, however, it came to be a matter of contest within the court, and when under court order the document was directed to be expunged from the records, the papers were interested in giving to it full publicity. The official proceedings did not come to a close with the decision of Judge F. The presentment, accompanied by a recommendation for the removal of G., was duly forwarded to Governor Roosevelt. The Governor asked me to take breakfast with him so that he might secure a better personal knowledge of the actual condition of affairs. He was good enough to say that any word that I gave him, based on my own direct knowledge, would constitute final evidence. G. was tried before a special commissioner appointed for the purpose. The first trial resulted in a verdict "not proven" and for a month or two longer G. kept his place. A little later, in connection with further similar evidence secured, he was again brought to trial before a representative appointed by the Governor and these proceedings resulted in his dismissal from office. The Governor told me that the main ground for his dismissal was to be found in the presentment that had been shaped by myself and that had been approved (without a dissenting voice) by my associates.

If the jury had done nothing else during its thirty days' work, it had rendered good service in freeing the community from the burden of a district attorney's office carried on for the protection of crime. At the end of the session, the members of the jury gave a dinner to its foreman and a piece of silver plate. They also sent to my daughter an expression of appreciation of the importance

of the service rendered by the "special stenographer" whom, of course, they had never seen.

I recall in another grand jury investigation into the conduct of the city departments, an occasion in which I had requirement to test the veracity of a witness whose evidence had been important if true. I found that some of my associates had not been prepared to place confidence in the man's statements. I remembered, after the witness had left the room, that he wore a Grand Army button, and I had him brought back and put a few questions to him in regard to his service in the field.

"Where did you serve?"

"Mainly in Virginia."

"What actions were you in?"

"Well, sir, I was at Ball's Bluff, and later on the Peninsula, and nearly all around, with the Army of the Potomac."

"Who commanded," I asked, "at Ball's Bluff?"

"Well, sir," he replied, "Colonel Stone thought he commanded, but the General on the other side did most of the commanding that day."

I was convinced that our witness had served and that he had been present at the battle of Ball's Bluff, and we secured later the corroboration that made his evidence effective.

Olga Nethersole and the Grand Jury. In the early nineties, I had in my capacity as foreman of the Grand Jury of the day, an experience with one of the popular actresses of the time, Olga Nethersole. I had met the young lady a few years before at the house of a friend in London. She was then preparing for her début and my friend had been of some service in securing a hearing for the girl in whose talent he had faith. The parlour recitation given at the time impressed me as clever, but I did not profess to be a judge of dramatic capacity. At

this later time, she was taking the principal rôle in the play based upon Daudet's romance, *Sappho*. The *New York World* had thought fit to characterize the play as indecent or at least as improper, and the editor went so far as to ask the District Attorney to have a stop put upon further performances on the ground that they were *contra bonos mores*. The District Attorney brought to the attention of the Grand Jury the charges as formulated by the *World*, and Miss Nethersole, hearing that there was risk of her being indicted for taking part in an improper performance, wrote to the foreman asking permission to be heard in her own defence. Such requests are frequently made on the part of persons under charges, but it is only in the exceptional cases that they are granted. The jury does not sit for the trial of cases, but merely to determine whether the charges presented, unless refuted in court by satisfactory evidence, would warrant a conviction.

The foreman advised the jury against granting Miss Nethersole's request. He thought it possible that it was the intention of the lady and of her managers to utilize the jury for advertising purposes. The majority of the men present, curious to see an actress who was described as beautiful and who was certainly famous, voted however to give her a hearing. She presented herself beautifully dressed, and as I realized at once, she made upon the jurors a very decided impression.

Mr. Foreman [she began], I can but think that you have been given by the wicked papers a wrong impression of this beautiful and artistic production, the work of one of the great authors of the world. I want you to let me recite to you a portion of the play, and with your permission I will take the very passages which have been most severely characterized by these critics.

The jury was willing and the lady recited the scenes, or a large portion of the scenes, in question; and I could

see as the performance went on that the jurors, while themselves not only impressed but more or less fascinated, might easily decide that a performance that was certainly attractive for grown men, would be unsuitable for their wives and daughters.

It was a little difficult to bring the lady to a stop, but the foreman finally pointed out that our time was limited and that the hearing had been granted as an exceptional favour. I took her to one side and pointed out that she was looking at this production and performance from the point of view of an artist, while it was the duty of the critics, or at least the better class of the critics, and the jurors to consider it with reference to the probable effect upon the general public, a public that must of necessity include a certain proportion of immature persons. I told her that I feared there would be an adverse decision. She wept impressively on my shoulder and she was then bowed out through the District Attorney's private office. The jury by a decisive majority brought in an indictment. As a result of the indictment, the play was stopped and the moneys that had been paid in for boxes and seats were of necessity returned.

A week later (the case was advanced in the court on the plea of the managers that contracts of one kind or another were depending upon the decision) the case came to trial in the Court of General Sessions and the petty jury decided (under instructions from the judge if I remember rightly) that there was no adequate legal ground for interfering with the performance. The play was replaced upon the boards and was produced with increasing success. The contracts were extended and manager and actress were said to have made a great deal of money. A wicked public further suggested that the action of the *New York World* had been taken at the suggestion of, that is to say in collusion with, the actress and manager, an

arrangement which was under the circumstances quite possible.

I recall a remark made at the trial by Miss Nethersole's counsel which bore rather hardly upon the foreman:

> This lady is charged, your honour and gentlemen of the jury, with an improper performance, the term improper applying to the scenes of the play. These scenes, of course, did not originate with her, but were the production of one of the great authors of the time. The play is, I may recall to you, taken from the famous romance of the same name. I have in my hands, gentlemen, a copy of the book. Will you believe it, gentlemen? This book has been produced from the place of business of the man who as foreman of the Grand Jury is responsible for this wicked charge against my client. That a man as a publisher should be willing to give to the public a book the text of which as a juryman he describes as improper and indecent, is certainly a most exceptional piece of inconsistency and pharasaism.

The clever lawyer knew, of course, that he was talking rubbish, but his words were effective enough for the purpose. Daudet's story of *Sappho* had been published in an American edition, not by the Putnams but by a firm in Boston. The lawyer had picked up in our retail shop a copy of the Boston edition and he was quite safe in assuming that the jury would not know the difference between the responsibility of a publisher whose imprint is placed upon the book and that of a bookseller who naturally sells the books that are called for. He could also safely assume the ignorance of the jury as to the difference between the text of the play and the text of the book. Under the instructions of the American publisher, the translator had, in shaping his American text, gotten rid of a number of the more "difficult" of the phrases and suggestions in the original French.

I remember hearing later that when Daudet was attempting to secure for his book an American publishing arrangement, his correspondent on this side found difficulties and finally was obliged to send word to the author by cable, "Sapho impossible." Daudet was said to have taken the cablegram to a friend having knowledge of American conditions. He could not imagine what should stand in the way of the acceptance by Americans of this work of genius. "What does the fellow mean?" says Daudet. "Oh!" said his friend, "you do not understand English. Cable back to him to spell it with two p's." The two p's and certain eliminations (probably made without the knowledge of the author) proved sufficient to enable the American edition to come into print.

CHAPTER XIII

Work for the City

The City Club. In the autumn of 1892, my cousin, William C. Gulliver, a capable young lawyer, invited me to dine with him to meet his friend, a Yale classmate, Edmond Kelly. Gulliver explained when I reported on the evening fixed, that Kelly, who had just returned from Paris where he had been for some time practising law, had asked to be brought into personal relations with some of "the cranks" of New York. By "cranks," Gulliver went on to explain, Kelly meant men who were not satisfied with the present conditions of things in the city, who believed that something could be done to improve those conditions, and who were willing, or who could be induced to be willing, to do their share towards such improvement. Kelly was an idealist, but an idealist who succeeded in impressing those with whom he had to do as worth listening to. He had a magnetism which brought his hearers at once into sympathetic relation with him, and when he had had an opportunity of stating his case, it was evident that his ideals rested upon careful study and clear-sighted thought. The one limitation to the acceptance of his views as to possibilities may have been an over-optimism on his part in regard to human nature. He was too ready to believe that, when a duty had been made clear to a hundred citizens, at least ninety of these citizens would

be prepared at once to make such sacrifice as might be required on their part to have the obligation carried out.

The dozen men who were gathered about Gulliver's table listened with interest to Kelly's schemes for the regeneration of New York. Kelly pointed out, as we all, of course, understood, that the would-be reformers of the city had in their previous undertakings, initiated for the furthering of the rights and interests of the community, worked at serious disadvantage. The reformers had come together in temporary committees or associations instituted for the single campaign, or for such a purpose as had been successfully accomplished a few years earlier, the overthrowing of the Tweed Ring. The campaign completed or the immediate object attained, the association or committee naturally dissolved. When a fresh effort was required, the men were, of course, only in part the same men. There was no permanency of policy, no headquarters, no continued organization to represent the interests of the citizens. Kelly had no difficulty in making clear what many of us had already realized, that if the operations of an organization like Tammany Hall, carried on in the name of politics but really for commercial purposes and for the personal gain of the managers of the organization, were to be withstood with any effectiveness, it was necessary to make the issue clear from election to election to a majority of the voters of the city. This education of the voters to the protection of their own rights and interests could not be accomplished by temporary associations or by campaign committees. Kelly proposed the organization of district good government clubs, one for every assembly district in which a sufficient number of public-spirited citizens could be brought together and, what was more difficult, could be kept together. He proposed further, the institution of a central association or club which should, like Tammany Hall, have permanent

headquarters and continuing machinery. The central club was in his plan to constitute a kind of clearing-house for the district clubs. The organization thus constituted was to keep in force a continuing supervision of the city government, the departments, the executive, and the aldermen. It was also, whenever there seemed to be fair prospect of success, itself to put into the field a Citizens' ticket so that in the near future an administration could be secured that should represent the real interests of the whole community.

After Kelly had had the opportunity of presenting his scheme the host asked each guest in turn for an opinion as to the practicability of putting into effect the measures proposed and as to the probability of securing from such measures any assured result. The opinions were, on the whole, adverse. Some of the things proposed by Kelly had been tried before, while others had been talked over and the trial had not been made because no adequate support had been secured or seemed to be possible. The host himself summed up the attitude of criticism and then the word was again given to Kelly. In no way discouraged, Kelly took the ground that the attempt was to be made and that he should depend upon all those present to take part with him in the work. His magnetism and hopefulness made such impression upon the dozen men present, and upon the hundreds who were interviewed later, that steps were promptly taken to carry out his plan. These steps resulted in the organization of a number of good government clubs in those of the assembly districts throughout the city in which enough men could be found to give the time and labour required. They resulted, further, in the institution of the City Club, as the central organization which was to carry on continuing effort for the welfare of New York. Some of the doubts and criticisms proved later to have been well founded. It was easier to bring men together in district associations than

to keep them together. Tammany had the advantage that its district associations were maintained by the personal interest and advantage of the district leaders and of those who secured benefit from the funds at the disposal of such leaders. Our good government clubs had no funds and did not have at their disposal the possibilities and the methods, described elsewhere, by which the Tammany authorities obtained money. The good government clubs brought together some thousands of public-spirited citizens. They proved to be of value in making known to each other men who possessed common aims and who were prepared to give work for the benefit of the city. Some local service was rendered by these clubs in calling attention to evils and abuses in their several districts. They took part also and with partial success in one or two of the ensuing municipal elections. It was through their service that were secured aldermen, although at best but a handful, of a better type than were usually to be found in the aldermanic chambers. The clubs took their part in at least one general election in which the Citizens' ticket was successful. Within two or three years, however, the spirit that supported the clubs weakened. It proved to be impracticable to keep the men together and the district associations had to be abandoned. The central body, however, the City Club, secured a permanent foundation, and at this date (twenty years later) it has proved its right to exist and has constituted a most important influence and factor in bringing about an assured and developing improvement in the standard of the city government, and in the effectiveness and integrity of official action.

It was finally decided, and as the result showed wisely decided, that the City Club could render better continued service by not taking part directly in municipal campaigns.

The club remained a body which charged itself particularly with the work of supervision and with criticism. Its committees keep close watch over the measures of the board of aldermen, the action of the executive and of the board of estimate, and the work of the department heads. Another committee is charged with the work of keeping track of measures in the State Legislature which affect the interests of the city. The reports issued from time to time by the club showing the character of the work done in the several departments and the nature of measures that were passed or attempted either in the board of aldermen or in the State Assembly, have proved of most valuable service in heading off the worst of the many efforts made to utilize for wrong purposes the resources of the city. The first president of the club was James C. Carter and the later presidents included men like Wheeler H. Peckham, George McAneny, Charles H. Strong, and Nelson S. Spencer. It was under McAneny's presidency that a most important precedent in regard to the right of voters to bring to account delinquent city officials was established. A committee of which McAneny was the chairman carried on prosecutions against two borough presidents, Ahearn of Manhattan and Haffen of the Bronx, who were charged with various kinds of malfeasance. The charges, presented in regular course before the governor, resulted, after operations extending over nearly two years, in the dismissal of both borough presidents. The attempt of the board of aldermen to re-elect Ahearn as his own successor was, also under the initiative of the City Club, declared to be unconstitutional. It is not likely that at any time in the near future borough presidents will venture upon the practices which brought to book Ahearn and Haffen. The curious responsibility came upon McAneny of himself succeeding the man whose previous practices he had so thoroughly analysed. The new borough president

had placed upon him of necessity, through his own description of the methods in which the office ought to be and could be administered, an exceptionally high standard of official action. The citizens of his borough were, however, prepared to admit after a service of four years from McAneny that this standard had been fully maintained.

An important incidental service is rendered by an organization like the City Club in the educating of young men to a realization of their duties and their privileges as citizens. Every year, a good many thousand youngsters, some of them fresh from college, come to New York or arrive at maturity in New York. It is of first importance for the wholesome development of our cities, that these new voters should, from year to year, be increasingly influenced by a practical public spirit and be prepared to render their share of citizens' service. When the younger men, in taking up their work in New York, can, in an organization like the City Club, be brought into association with older citizens who are well known as leaders in the community, men like James C. Carter, Wheeler H. Peckham, Elihu H. Root, R. Fulton Cutting, W. J. Schieffelin, Charles H. Strong, George McAneny, and the like, they secure an influence and an education such as could come to them in no other way.

We used to say in Reform circles that if the younger man coming to New York from Harvard or Yale or Princeton selected for his daily reading the *New York Sun*, we could do very little with him. As Emerson says, "Every man is as lazy as he dares to be," and it is fairly easy for a man to find excuses, satisfactory at least to himself, for laziness in regard to work as a citizen when he finds an ably edited paper like the *Sun* maintaining a persistent policy of sneering at reformers, questioning their methods, or holding up to ridicule the possibility of any good results coming to the community from their work.

I am, of course, here making reference to the *Sun* of many years back, so brilliantly, and as it seemed to us so perversely, edited by Charles A. Dana and his immediate successors. During the later years, the great influence of the paper has, with hardly an exception, been given in support of those who are working for good municipal government.

Citizens' Union. It was in the City Club that the organization of the Citizens' Union had its birth. I had the privilege of serving for a number of weeks as a member of the organization committee in company with Elihu Root, W. J. Schieffelin, Fulton and Bayard Cutting, William H. Baldwin, and others. We were not planning to organize a party in the political sense of the term, but to bring together in permanent association a group of citizens, which might, in the near future, come to constitute a majority group, who would be interested in giving their votes on municipal questions free from any confusion with the issues upon which national parties are organized and directed solely to the interest of the city considered as a business community.

The Citizens' Union was able, in more than one election, to place in office officials who fairly represented the interests of the community as a whole, and its action had also the effect of compelling Tammany Hall to put up a much better class of candidates than had heretofore been thought necessary. Tammany realized that if it was going to hold on to its control of the city's resources, it must, at least when the citizens were well organized, pander to the better sentiment of the community.

Our organization started with excellent promise, and in the course of the successive years, we were able to influence to the good several city elections, and in one case at least, to carry our ticket. Difficulties arose however, some of which had been foreseen by the older men who had

had experience with similar organizations. A body of citizens who come together in a Republican club or in a Tammany organization have a specific purpose; in the former, as a rule, the success of the party, and in the latter, the use of political issues for the individual gain of the managing members of the organization. Such citizens have on their hands a comparatively simple task. They are prepared to waive their individual preferences and to accept a leadership which can by a very easy transition become boss-ship.

The Citizens' Union collected into its membership more varied groups of citizens than those who came together in the work of the City Club. For the membership of the Union there was no requirement for social standing or even for any uniformity of opinion on municipal problems. As a result, the Citizens' Union, in extending, as it did for a number of years quite largely, its membership in all the districts of Greater New York, gathered in cranks and theorists of all kinds. The majority of these cranks were doubtless quite honest in their purposes and theories, but it became increasingly difficult to bring into any harmony of action men who in most of their theories about government varied so seriously. It was said more than once that a Citizens' Union committee, if fairly representative in its membership, would have as many opinions as there were members, and if the evening were long, half as many again. It was this inevitable diversity of theories of political action which made it impracticable to maintain the Citizens' Union as a political body. I had myself the opportunity more than once, in presiding in the Cooper Union at general meetings of the Citizens' Union, at the times, for instance, when we were shaping nominations and platforms for campaigns, of testing the difficulty of securing a consistent or working concensus of opinion. The difficulty was serious enough in the selection of candi-

dates for the ticket but was almost insuperable when we came to the task of making up the platform or of securing approval for platform provisions as shaped by the platform committee. It was very important in such a meeting to give as much opportunity as the time rendered practicable to every individual utterance however absurd or irrelevant such utterance might seem to be. We could not push through the work of the meeting with the simple system that obtains in Tammany Hall or in any well-directed party convention, in which the whole program as well as the platform are made up in advance and are passed upon only *pro forma* by the delegates. If we allowed any large number of public-spirited citizens with theories of their own to go out from the meeting with the feeling that they had been headed off, that the "silk-stocking" leaders had taken an arbitrary control of the proceedings of the meeting, we should not have been able to retain in the organization the assembly district associations and our chances of success at the polls would have been proportionately reduced. It seemed wise, therefore, even with the necessity of continuing the meeting until long past midnight, to allow men to put in varied suggestions about minority representation, single tax, women's suffrage, home government, control of tenements, restriction of the importation of the foreign voter, and dozens of other subjects still less relevant. By prohibiting any individual from speaking more than once, by restricting each utterance to five minutes, and by a vigorous use of the gavel, it finally did prove possible to allow everybody, or nearly everybody, to blow off steam in his own special fashion and to bring the meeting to an end by one o'clock. I say nearly everybody, for the day after the meeting in question, I was waited upon in my office by a couple of "citizens" whom the chairman (probably through accident) had failed to recognize on the floor and

who proposed to present at length, even though it was in business hours, the views that they had not had opportunity of advocating in the hall of the Cooper Union.

The larger political possibilities of the Citizens' Union were finally brought to a close by a cleavage among its members on questions connected with municipal control and municipal operation of the so-called public utilities. A large minority, and as it seemed in some of the meetings an actual majority, of the members were largely impressed with the view that the profits resulting from the operation of the public utilities, not only the water and the lighting, but the transportation, ferries, and street railroads, ought not to go into the pockets of private individuals but should accrue to the advantage of the community as a whole. They gave examples of cities such as Glasgow and Birmingham and Berlin, in which the operation of these utilities had been carried on with direct effectiveness and had brought proceeds to the city treasury which lessened the requirement for taxation. They insisted that contracts that allowed these profits to go to corporation interests or to individual speculators were contrary to the interests and to the rights of the community. Their opponents admitted, of course, that the first thing to be considered was the interest of the community. They admitted, further, that outrages had been committed by the public corporations through lack of supervision of the operations carried on under contract or licenses from the city. There was, of course, ample evidence to the effect that charters representing great opportunities for profit had been given away without proper consideration. This section of the Union was quite prepared to insist upon public ownership being brought about as fast as private or corporation ownership could be legally and profitably extinguished. They did not believe, however, that the government of the city of New York as constituted, and as it was likely

to be constituted for years to come, ought to be trusted with any more business than it was now carrying on, and carrying on in large part very badly, that is to say very extravagantly. They pointed out that the work done by the city was, with hardly an exception, wasteful, unduly costly, and unprofitable as compared with similar work done by individual or corporation owners. The experiment that was at that time being made with the city control of certain ferries had, while giving better accommodation, resulted in serious and steadily increasing deficiencies. They objected further that the addition to the city pay-rolls, already large, of the thousands of employees that would be required for operation of railroads, etc., would place in the hands of the city government (a government which in most years was in the hands of Tammany Hall) fresh political power, a power that was pretty sure to be used against the interests of the community. The policy advocated by these men provided, therefore, for city ownership and for operation under contract by corporations which should be closely and honestly supervised on behalf of the city. The contracts were to be for the shortest terms that would tempt adequate capital investment; this plan would render practicable the readjustment of the contracts from term to term in case the original provisions had not proved sufficiently remunerative. The Single Taxers, or Henry George men, who constituted at the time quite a large element in the membership of the Union, voted for the most part with the supporters of municipal operation. With its entire membership organized in support of a Citizens' municipal ticket, the chances of success of the Union in municipal elections were by no means good, and it was only occasionally, with the use either of the Republican organization, when this organization was prepared "to play good," or with the backing of some outside body such as Mr.

Hearst's so-called Independence League, that it proved possible to get Citizens' candidates into office. With so serious a division on a matter of municipal policy as that above indicated, it was, of course, not practicable to shape a Citizens' ticket with any hope of success. For the last few years, therefore, the Citizens' Union, retiring from what might be called active politics, has, under the clear-headed and public-spirited leadership of W. J. Schieffelin, become an advisory and investigating body. Its representatives in Albany have rendered most valuable service in heading off pernicious legislation and its several committees on municipal work have co-operated with the municipal committees of the City Club in such manner that the work need not be duplicated.

Bureau of Municipal Research. The City Club was also responsible for the organization of the Bureau of Municipal Research which, under the able direction of that devoted and public-spirited citizen, R. Fulton Cutting, has during the past few years rendered distinctive and valuable service in furthering the efficiency of the city departments. The Bureau is of importance for the protection of the city at a time when the municipal administration is not directly representative of citizens' interests. Its work has, however, been extended and made more valuable when it has been in a position to co-operate with an administration such as that now in office. Officials like Mayor Mitchel, Mr. McAneny, Mr. Marks, and their associates have welcomed the co-operation of Mr. Cutting's bureau, and precedents for an efficient management of municipal departments are now being established in such manner that it will be difficult to put them to one side, even under a less sympathetic administration.

Committee of Fifteen. In 1903, a meeting was held in the New York Chamber of Commerce to consider

the serious conditions that were obtaining throughout large divisions of the city in connection with the forms of vice that are characterized as the social evil. The difficulty that was confronting the citizens of New York was not merely the increase in the extent and influence of vice conditions, but the fact that a number of the members of the police force and of the other municipal officials with whom rested the immediate responsibility for the control and restriction of vice were, as it was charged, fostering these conditions for the sake of personal gain.

The meeting had been called as the result of an appeal from the Reverend Dr. Paddock, whose missionary work in the 10th Ward had brought him into direct relations with the managers of bad houses and with the police officials by whom these houses were protected and into whose pockets went substantial returns from the business.

The result of the meeting was the appointment of a Committee of Fifteen with instructions to investigate into the matter and to report, first, in regard to the charge that vice was increasing and that the machinery of the promoters of vice extended even outside of the city into the country districts from which girls were lured into the city houses; and secondly, the possibly still more serious charge that those who were responsible for the government of the city were fostering these conditions for their own personal advantage and for the sustenance of their political treasury. In this committee Charles Stewart Smith, a retired merchant who had served his term as President of the Chamber of Commerce, accepted the responsibility of temporary or organizing chairman. William H. Baldwin became the permanent chairman. The membership included George Foster Peabody, who took upon his shoulders the bothersome work of treasurer, Felix Adler, head of the Ethical Society, Prof. E. R. A. Seligman of

Columbia University, Alexander E. Orr, Austen G. Fox, and other active citizens.

A subcommittee of five made up of the chairman, Adler, Seligman, Orr, and myself was charged with the immediate work of investigation. Mr. Orr fell ill and was unable to render any service. Our subcommittee met regularly on Sunday afternoon at the house of Adler. The hours of the afternoon were devoted to the receiving of the reports of our agents for the preceding week and the shaping of instructions for the operations of the week following. Mr. Robert Grier Monroe served as counsel for the general committee and took part in the deliberations of the subcommittee. It was through Monroe and with the help of Judge Goff that we were able to secure warrants to be filled in at the last moment with the names of the owners or occupants of the houses to be visited.

The work of Baldwin as chairman was most devoted. He was already a busy man in connection with his service as president of the Long Island Railroad and with the responsibility that he had accepted as a trustee of Tuskeegee Institute and with various other public welfare committees and associations. He found himself however keenly interested in this attempt to improve the troublesome vice conditions of our great city. He came promptly into conflict with certain of the authorities in Tammany, who threatened to make the business of the corporations represented by Baldwin (the Long Island road and its owner the Pennsylvania road) in New York and Brooklyn difficult unless Baldwin's superiors would bring to a close his annoying investigations. Baldwin placed his resignation in the hands of the authorities in Philadelphia but they realized the value of the man and they gave evidence that a corporation could have a "soul," that is to say an understanding of public duty. The operations of the two companies *were* hampered both in Brooklyn and in Man-

hattan, but as the record became public, the Tammany officials found that it would not be safe to continue their interference. I believe that all the extensive construction work carried on at that time by the Pennsylvania people in Brooklyn and in Manhattan was completed without any surreptitious payments or purchase of official influence.

Our subcommittee was able in the course of a year's labours to bring home directly to Tammany officials and leaders the responsibility for certain of the more serious of the evils complained of. It showed that the headquarters of the cadet system, which was one of the abominations of which Dr. Paddock complained, was in the 10th Ward, and that the chief owner of the company that was making profit out of the abominable traffic was a well-known Tammany leader.

We did succeed, with certain measures of publicity, and through various prosecutions that were instituted, in breaking up this traffic and it stayed broken up for some years. We also succeeded in securing the dismissal of a number of police officials to whom had been traced the dirty money paid over for police protection by the managers of the traffic. The evidence against some of these police officials was sufficient to bring them into jail and others resigned in order to escape investigation. In securing reports of the moneys paid over for the "protection" of illegal undertakings, we estimated (of course only approximately) that during the preceding twelve months no less than two million and a half dollars had been given for the privilege of breaking the law. The policy of Tammany Hall at that time was to secure, in co-operation with up-State politicians, the enactment of the most strenuous laws for the preservation of public morality in large cities. The up-State leaders (largely Republican) who joined with Tammany for putting such laws on the statute-book were as a rule quite able to understand their

futility. They gave their co-operation for "consideration" of one kind or another. Back of these leaders, however, stood thousands of conscientious country voters who honestly believed that in casting their votes for a measure that should prohibit gambling or the sale of beer or liquor on the Sabbath, they were doing their part as good citizens to save from perdition the big cities (Sodom and Gomorrah). The more strenuous the prohibitions of the law, the larger the payments that had to be made by those whose business made it necessary for them to break the law, and the greater the profits of the Tammany treasury as a whole and of the favoured individuals deputed by Tammany to handle the money.

The demoralization of the police force was not the least of the evils of such a system. The payments made by the bad houses and gambling saloons for permission to continue business, and by the liquor saloons for freedom from interference while selling drinks after midnight or on Sunday, went for the most part into the hands of the roundsmen or possibly of the sergeants and through them to the captains and inspectors. Each man who handled the money got his portion (at a rate fixed by the authorities above), and the final payment, less these "expenses of collection," went into a special fund. Part of the moneys so collected was utilized for the maintenance of the district benevolent funds, while the remainder was retained for the work of political service of the organization. The benevolent funds were distributed, and on the whole probably honestly distributed, by the Tammany district leaders. There is no question but that those moneys were used then and in succeeding years for the aid of people needing help. The only requirement made by the district leader in finding money in case of sickness, death in the family, accident, or unemployment is that the voter of the family shall be on the Tammany district

list and shall give service at the primaries and at the polls. It is the influence of this district benevolent fund and the strength of the local organizations which, by the use of this money, the district leaders are able to build up, that renders so difficult any successful opposition on the part of good citizens generally to the rule of Tammany Hall. The citizens have, in fact, no such moneys available and no means of securing them. The system of building up local district associations by means of moneys extracted from the community recalls the methods of the Medici in Florence in the early sixteenth century, methods which enabled the Medici machine to remain in power for three or four generations.

The committee terminated its labours with the publication of a report on the social evil. The publication committee under whose direction the book was prepared comprised Prof. Seligman, Felix Adler, and myself. I took the financial risk for the production of the volume as the treasury was at that time empty and in fact in debt to Mr. Peabody. I was able later to report that the book had secured a sufficient sale not only to pay for the cost of production but to secure proceeds for the reduction of the deficiency.

Looking back years later at the history of the committee, it is difficult to say that it accomplished any very lasting results towards the betterment of the city. The light thrown by our report upon the relations of the police with crime and the evidence presented by us to the effect that police authorities and others were making large profits out of the protection of crime conditions, did have an immediate service in arousing public opinion and in bringing about some reformation of the police force. It is probable that since the work of our committee, conditions have never been quite so bad as they were in 1903 and in the years preceding. It is certain, however, that

renewed efforts of this general character must be made from period to period by citizens willing to give their time, their money, and their service, if the city is not to be exploited by rascals outside and inside the city government. Eternal vigilance and continued labour are the necessary price of decent government in communities which are run by a popular vote.

As far as the experience of the committee enabled the members to arrive at definite conclusions, these may be cited as follows: First, they were decidedly of opinion that for the management of the liquor trade of the city of New York and probably for the entire State, a system of high license with adequate supervision on the part of trustworthy authorities, was most likely to meet the conditions and requirements; under such a system, the liquor dealers with a decent standard of business were themselves prepared to extend useful co-operation in crowding out of business the men who made the liquor shop a centre of pestilence. Secondly, the majority of the committee were inclined to the view that the attempt to suppress by law all classes of gambling had not proved successful or satisfactory. The wealthier gamblers were able without difficulty to buy protection from the police and other officials; while the houses instituted to satisfy the gambling instincts of the poorer classes could also usually secure protection by giving as a consideration political influence and also by making *pro rata* contributions. It was our recommendation that temptation should be removed as far as possible from the open thoroughfares, but that the attempt should be given up of pursuing gambling conditions into quietly kept houses. This opinion did not mean that the members of the committee were in sympathy with the gambling instinct. The majority of us believed it to be a very serious vice; but it was a vice which in our judgment could not be controlled by

statute. The conclusions in regard to the method of supervision of bad houses were much more varied. Our volume of report was chiefly devoted to this subject and presented without any final recommendation on the part of the committee as a whole the difficulties under one method of regulation or another. The problem is one that is still to be worked out for New York as for all the great cities of the world.

The Committee of Fourteen. In 1905, a Committee of Fourteen was organized under the initiative and chairmanship of the Reverend John P. Peters, rector of St. Michael's. Doctor Peters was not content with the labour required for the conscientious and effective management of a big city parish. He held himself always in readiness for work for the community at large, and his capacity and devotion brought him naturally into leadership.

The special purpose of the committee was to work for the suppression of the so-called Raines Law hotels. Senator Raines of Canandaigua was responsible for the enactment, in 1902, of a bill which legalized the sale of liquor (at hours prohibited for liquor saloons generally) in buildings of a character that could be described as "hotels." The managers of a number of saloons wishing to secure the privilege of carrying on their trade on Sundays and after midnight on weekdays, arranged to meet, in form at least, the requirements of the law so that their saloons could be classed as "hotels." They provided the requisite number of bedrooms (I think it was six) and they provided also that food should always be served with the drink sold. The latter requirement was met by having on the table a perpetual sandwich which the regular visitor was of course experienced enough to let alone, but for which he had to make payment.

The addition of six or more bedrooms to a drinking

saloon involved an expense that had to be met in some fashion; and as a result these Raines Law buildings came to be little more than houses of assignation. The more reputable among the liquor dealers and particularly the managers of the beer saloons (which were in large part under the ownership of the big brewers) were quite prepared to co-operate with the authorities or with any citizens who might work for the repression of these Raines Law hotels, the keepers of which were securing an unfair advantage against their more decent competitors.

I was asked to take service on this Committee of Fourteen because my experience in the work of the earlier Committee of Fifteen had given me some knowledge of the conditions with which we were to contend. Other members of the committee were Isaac Newton Seligman, always ready for citizen's service, Mr. Whitin, who served first as secretary and later as chairman, Mr. Beattie, Mrs. Baldwin, Mrs. Simkovitch, and Mr. Slade.

The chief hindrance in the work of the committee was the apathy of the State authorities charged with the supervision of the liquor saloons. There was also, for a time at least, difficulty in securing proper attention from the courts for the evidence collected by our committee of law-breaking on the part of the liquor dealers. This committee was confronted with the same conditions that had called for the fight made by the Committee of Fifteen. The members of the police and the authorities back of the police were gaining so much money by the sale of the privilege of breaking the law that they had a very direct business interest, on the one hand, against having the law modified and its penalties made less strenuous, and on the other hand, against any consistent enforcement of its provisions.

John Peters was, as always in any work in which he engaged, the life of our undertaking. He was unceasing

in compelling the State authorities to take action in the cases in which their action was essential, and he was what the boys call "a holy terror" for the police officials and the judges of petty sessions. He was ably seconded by Mr. Whitin and others, and in the course of three or four years our committee succeeded in reducing by two thirds the number of the Raines Law hotels in the borough of Manhattan and in putting the remaining third under such supervision that they had to behave.

The work of the committee was simply another of the many examples of the necessity of continued action on the part of our citizens to secure from the officials an adequate enforcement of the law.

A Tammany Libel Suit. Some years later, I had the annoyance of being defendant in a libel suit brought by an ex-Tammany police official, the damages of which were placed at $50,000. My name was on the black-list of Tammany and certain of the officials who had been annoyed at my industry in the grand jury room and my association later with the operations of the Committee of Fifteen had been looking for an opportunity of "getting even" with this troublesome citizen.

During one of the municipal campaigns which resulted in the election of a Tammany Mayor, I took occasion, in a letter brought into print in the *New York Times*, to characterize unfavourably a number of the men who had during the preceding two years been appointed to office under Tammany influence. They were a very bad lot and their service had been costly for the city. The list was a long one and the statements in regard to the doings of the various officials were based upon their public record. I had personal acquaintance with no one of the men referred to. The list ended with the name of an important Tammany leader, Mr. M., who had passed the larger portion of his active life on the police force.

At the time of our presentment against D.'s management of the force, M. had been an inspector and his district had been one of those brought in our presentment into special condemnation. A year or two earlier, M.'s name had come before the public in the investigations into police conditions in New York conducted by the Lexow Committee appointed by the State leaders. The evidence given before this committee had been brought into print at the time by the newspapers and had been reprinted later in a series of six bulky volumes. It was, therefore, a matter of public record.

I had knowledge at the time of the Lexow investigation of very damnatory evidence brought against M.; and when preparing my letter for the *Times* I had refreshed my memory of this evidence by an examination of the volumes of Lexow's reports. It was in evidence in these reports that inspector M. had been paid $50.00 a week from one bad house and corresponding sums from other similar houses, and that as a result of such payments these houses had been left undisturbed by the roundsmen. The most important portion of this evidence had been given by Captain S., who swore that he had himself paid over to the inspector the money that had been handed to him by the roundsman delegated for the purpose. Roundsman, captain, and inspector each had his share of the dirty fee. One would have supposed that an official charged with such an offence would, if his conscience was clear, have promptly called for an investigation. M. took a very different course. He at once resigned from the force in order to escape being called to account by the new commissioner, Roosevelt. Such an investigation as Roosevelt would have held would undoubtedly have resulted in the inspector's dismissal. M. had during the years referred to in my letter to the *Times* been serving as commissioner of police. I took the ground that the appointment as

commissioner of a man who had been shown up as a misdoer was a disgrace to the city and that to such appointments could justly be charged the demoralization of the police force. This was the libel of which M. complained.

At the time the suit was brought, he was no longer chief of police. He had responsibilities in the management of Tammany Hall and he also held an important post as director of one of the Catholic benevolent funds; and as far as I could learn this fund was exceedingly well administered. It took three years to bring my libel suit to trial. During that time, I received repeated suggestions for the withdrawal of the suit if I would make some payment, the amount suggested ranging from $5000 down to $1000. Any payment would, of course, have been an admission on my part that my statements were not justified. I preferred to have the trial pushed to its conclusion and to base the defence on what is called "justification" of the statement.

The matter came up before Judge G. The Judge was a Tammany nominee, but had recently been re-elected for fifteen years and he was, therefore, in a position to act (as I have no doubt that he very much preferred to act) with full measure of independence. It is certain that during the three days' proceedings, he treated me with no little consideration, and his charge to the jury must have had large influence in their decision. My counsel, my old friend Stephen H. Olin, submitted in support of the justification of my statement the printed volumes of the Lexow committee. The admission of these volumes as evidence was stoutly contested on the part of M. If they could not be admitted, my defence of justification would fall to the ground and the verdict would certainly have gone against me. The court, however, took the position that these volumes *did* constitute a public document and that a citizen interested in public matters

had a right, particularly during a municipal campaign and in connection with the record of candidates in such campaign, to make reference to a public document. It was this decision of the court that undoubtedly saved the case for me. The jury was fortunately made up largely of Hebrews. If they had been Catholics, it would have been very difficult to secure a verdict against one of the managers of a great Catholic society.

The decision was in substance that the statement complained of had been made by me, which had, of course, never been denied; that the charges in it were bitter and derogatory, but that the plaintiff's character had not been injured. It was a fortunate escape and I have realized later in reports from other active citizens who had come into similar difficulty how serious the results might be for a citizen who like myself did not have any thousands of dollars to spare.

The Baltimore Convention of 1912. In April, 1912, I found myself, not for the first time, keenly interested in the issues of the coming presidential campaign. I had since 1880, the year in which the friends of General Grant made the ill-advised attempt to secure for the General a third term, classed myself with the Democrats. During the period of the war when the Republican party accepted the task of maintaining the existence of the Republic, I had, partly from my old anti-slavery convictions and partly because I thought the Republic worth preserving, called myself a Republican. In the later years, however, when there was no further question of fighting for nationality and when the Republican party had come under the domination of certain commercially inclined leaders who were utilizing the protective taxes to build up a great series of business interests in alliance with government and in large part maintained by government at the expense of the citizens as a whole, I had no more use for the Republi-

can party. I had, under my father's sound counsel, been a pupil of David A. Wells and had based my economic theories of government policy and of citizens' action on his teachings. I was prepared, therefore, when the re-organized Democratic party was maintaining a sound policy in regard to the relations of government with business and was insisting that the protective taxes, instituted for the special war needs of the treasury, should now be abrogated, to give my vote and my work for the Democrats.

Unfortunately, these Democrats, while in my judgment fairly sound in their theories as to protection, speedily developed what I could not but call rotten ideas of finance. Remembering as they did the facility with which, during the war period, the country had been provided with currency by the government printing-presses, and oblivious of the serious interference with business conditions and with national credit that had been brought about through the steady depreciation of the purchasing power of the paper dollar, they proposed to continue and even to extend what they called "the money-making power" of the government. They refused to learn wisdom from the long series of experiences of other nations which had experimented with the payment of debts personal and national by means of an irredeemable paper currency. Later, when the Democratic leaders had, through the persistent opposition of the wiser men in the party, mainly, of course, the merchants of the Eastern States whose international relations gave them a better understanding of the real foundations of prosperous trade, been compelled to give up the idea of "creating value" (that is to say of making money) by the printing-press and of turning out dollars whose value was to be based upon "the natural wealth of the whole country," they fell back upon what might be called the second line of defence of believers in fiat money. They were finally persuaded that it was not safe to attempt

to use the government authority to secure the entire exchange value for the government fiat; but if they could not make fiat government money of 100 cents on the dollar, they held that government could at least be utilized to give to a fiat dollar worth 50 cents the additional 50 cents "value" required. They fell back, therefore, on the silver dollar which, on the basis of coinage of the time and with the value of silver in the world's markets, had an international or exchange value of about 50 cents on the dollar, and they insisted that the fiat of the government should be accepted as sufficient to make this fraudulent coin a full quittance for a dollar's worth of indebtedness whether personal or national. The silver heresy proved more difficult to contend with and to dislodge from party and from national councils than the earlier paper theories. Not a few of the men of my group who were interested in undermining the protective policy which had been accepted for the nation, were compelled to vote with the Republicans because the financial heresies of the Democrats seemed to us a more serious peril to the state than protection. We got into the habit during the elections that followed of voting, so to speak, for McKinley whenever the Democrats nominated Bryan. We did have the satisfaction of helping in two elections to secure for President that sturdy advocate of sound money and common-sense government, Grover Cleveland. On another election, I, in common with a good many other men of my group, gave my vote for the Palmer and Buckner ticket, the campaign for which was based upon the best presidential platform ever presented in this country. This platform, as shaped by our committee in Indianapolis, was made not to attract votes but to express convictions. It is my belief that sometime in the not distant future the principles of the Indianapolis platform will be accepted by some party of national organization that will attract the

majority of voters of the country and will place upon a sound foundation the policy of the nation.

In the spring of 1912, the cleavage that had been brought about in the Republican party through the personal ambition, amounting I think to undue subjectivity, of Theodore Roosevelt, gave promise of success for the Democrats if they could only be brought to unite upon a candidate who should be personally qualified and who should represent a sound and progressive national policy. The man whose name was brought to the front with the largest support of the West and the South-West, Clark of Missouri, Speaker of the House, did not meet the first requirement. He had had no such training as could meet the requirements necessary for the post. He was a good-natured, hail-fellow-well-met "statesman" whose lack of responsibility was fairly well illustrated by the utterance blurted out while he was still Speaker that the reciprocity policy of the United States was based upon the expectation of annexing Canada. This utterance of a man holding the second position in the government was assuredly a very important factor in bringing about the defeat in Canada of the Laurier government which was supporting the reciprocity policy. A much better qualified candidate was Underwood of Alabama who, as leader of the Democratic majority in the House, had given evidence of clearness of head, of knowledge of conditions, and of real capacity as a leader. The third important candidate, Governor Harmon of Ohio, had in his favour an excellent record for his administration of a State which while heretofore Republican had twice given to Harmon the honour of the governorship. Harmon was somewhat old for the post, and he was not likely to prove an incisive or an effective leader. The man in whose candidacy my group was interested was Woodrow Wilson, Governor of New Jersey. Wilson was an economist and a scholar in history. He

had won distinction as president of Princeton, but through what must be admitted by his friends to have been a lack of adequate and proper understanding of rather complex conditions, he had failed to secure in Princeton an assured success. On the other hand, he had as Governor of New Jersey won deserved repute for courage in reforming bad political conditions and in putting out of power the boss and local machine who were responsible for such conditions. The powers of Tammany Hall were bitterly opposed to the nomination of Wilson and the boss, Murphy, had secured such a grasp of the organization of the party that he was able to control absolutely the votes of the ninety delegates sent to the Convention by New York. These ninety votes were throughout the sessions cast *en bloc* by Murphy.

I helped in the organization of what was called the Wilson Conference Committee, the leader in which was Thomas M. Osborne, late Mayor of Auburn. His active lieutenant was young Franklin D. Roosevelt, a cousin of the great Theodore. Franklin's father was I heard, a supporter of Theodore, but the son had been ready to mark out for himself his political course. The work of our Conference committee was to make clear to the delegates at Baltimore that the Murphy vote did not express the opinion of the State. Our action was taken so late that it was not possible to secure hotel accommodations. We hired sleeping cars from two of the railroad companies, and we had to take our night's rest in the yards of the railroads in cars that had stood under the hot sun during the day. Under the circumstances, the rest was unrefreshing. We had taken pains to secure from competent representatives who had been ordered to travel through the State for the purpose, expressions of opinion from forty of the sixty counties of the State. We had also been able to bring into print in a number of the county papers strong expressions of preference for Wilson. Our representatives

found throughout the State some preference for Underwood and a smaller backing for Harmon, but the great bulk of Democratic opinion was supporting Wilson. There was practically no sentiment for Clark. In face of this fact, Murphy was able, through his control of the State machine, to cast the ninety votes of the delegation steadily for Clark. On the fourth day of the Convention, the delegates were tired and had spent most of their money and they wanted to go home. The difficulty was such as had obtained not infrequently in previous presidential conventions when the delegates had taken the ground that the leaders had killed each other off and that they had got to find some "in-between" man who could unite enough votes to secure the necessary two thirds. It is certain that such compromise candidate could have been nominated only with the approval of Mr. Murphy and his Tammany gang. It is probable, in fact, that Murphy as the leader of the only unbroken block of votes of ninety would have had in his hands the actual selection of the candidate. The risk was serious that the Convention might have the mortification of accepting as nominee a man selected and controlled by Murphy and his financial backers, of whom the most important, Thomas F. Ryan, was a member of the New York delegation. This result, which would have been a grievous disaster for the country, was prevented only through the persistency, the courage, and the intelligently exerted influence of our leader Osborne. He had been labouring night and day with the delegates to make clear that the representation of New York in the Convention did not voice the opinion of the Empire State but was a travesty and a fraud. He finally succeeded on the forty-fourth ballot in inducing the delegates from Indiana, who had been giving their support to Marshall, to agree to make a break if they could do this in company with one or more other States. Osborne brought to the same way of think-

ing the delegates of Illinois and of Kentucky, and the progress made on the forty-fifth ballot secured on the forty-sixth the nomination of Wilson. The surprise and disgust of the Murphy-Ryan group was so great that they did not have the sense to swing the ninety votes of New York into line in time to have these votes constitute a part of the two thirds required for the nomination. The national democracy had decided against Tammany Hall and from that point the anti-Tammany Democrats of the State could, during the campaign that was to follow, claim to be the "regulars" as against the Tammany "faction."

The work of our independent Democratic organization was continued after the nomination of Wilson and Marshall for the purpose of preventing the control by Murphy of the State convention at Syracuse and of heading off the renomination of Governor Dix. The Governor had shown himself a weak tool of Tammany. Under the orders of Murphy, he had done much to undermine the civil service system of the State. His renomination would not only have been an injury to the State but would have imperilled the Democratic vote for the presidential candidate. We succeeded through our representatives at Syracuse in securing an open conduct of the business of the convention. The methods represented a decided advance over those of the convention of two years earlier when the selection by Murphy of Dix was being called in the streets before the convention had an opportunity of passing upon the candidate selected by its delegates. We also succeeded in heading off the renomination of Dix. With this limited success we had to be satisfied. The candidate finally selected, Mr. Sulzer, an old-time opponent of civil service reform and a persistent and consistent defender of Tammany methods, could not be accepted as satisfactory. We had, in advance of the convention,

put into nomination under petition a State ticket which could be utilized by our representatives as a threat to head off the renomination of Dix, and I had myself been persuaded for the purpose of giving this needed support to the Democratic revolt to let my name go upon this ticket for the post of secretary of state. The ticket was headed with the name for governor of Mr. F. W. Hinrichs, an old-time Democratic reformer who was well qualified for the post. It was thought possible that we might deem it worth while to keep the ticket in the field and by obtaining not less than 10,000 votes secure the right to a column in the official ballot for the elections following. We found, however, after the Syracuse convention that there was sufficient difference of opinion among the members of the Empire State democracy to make it impracticable to secure the unanimity that was essential for carrying on any kind of a State campaign. The ticket was therefore withdrawn and we decided to concentrate our efforts, as far as the State campaign was concerned, upon the selection of assemblymen of independent character, and further to confirm and extend the organization for work in the coming municipal campaign in the city of New York. This record is noted mainly in order to emphasize what can be done on the part of a few public-spirited and energetic men who want nothing for themselves, in influencing the decision of a great national issue.

Thomas Mott Osborne should in the political history of the country receive due credit for heading off the disgrace of a White House controlled by Tammany Hall.

The Empire State democracy was able to render service in the municipal campaign of 1913, which resulted in the success of the Citizens' Ticket. Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Osborne, being up-state voters, were not in a position to take part in this municipal work, but the campaign in the city was well directed by Mr. Hanson, Mr. Hopper,

Mr. Henderson, and others. This municipal election resulted in securing what I believe to be the best administration that New York City has had since I have been a voter. The choice for Mayor of the Empire State democracy (later known as the Jeffersonian Alliance) was Mr. McAneny; owing chiefly to the opposition of the "municipal operation" men, Mr. McAneny failed to secure the nomination, but we were prepared to give cordial support to the candidacy of Mr. Mitchel. Mr. Mitchel's administration will receive large credit for the completion of the great work of subway construction which had been initiated under the mayorality of Mr. Gaynor. The responsibility for the shaping of this work and for the protection of the interests of the city rests under the present administration, as it rested during the time of Mayor Gaynor, chiefly with Mr. McAneny. He is the member of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment who has had in his hands from the outset the direction of the construction plans and whose service has been of first importance in bringing these plans to the successful conclusion which is so important for the welfare of the city.

CHAPTER XIV

The Fight for Copyright

1886–1915

In 1886, I was interested in bringing again into organization the American Publishers' Copyright League. As far back as 1840, just before leaving New York for London, my father had been active in the work of the first Publishers' Copyright League. In 1851, a year or two after his return to New York, he interested himself in renewing its operations. During his sojourn in London, he had been increasingly impressed with the importance, for the interests not only of literature but of international relations, in bringing to a close the piracy which on both sides of the Atlantic was causing great injustice to literary producers and which was giving constant causes for international irritation and criticism. In a volume entitled *American Facts* which my father brought into print in London in 1847, he had pointed out that the "appropriation" of literature by piratical reprinters was, in proportion to the number of books available, just as active in London as it was in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia. He was able, in fact, to print in this volume a very considerable list of American books that had been taken, without arrangement and without compensation, by English publishers. In some cases,

the names of the authors had been replaced by English names which in the judgment of English publishers might help to bring the books into sale. Not a few of these English editions were seriously garbled, thus bringing upon the author, in addition to the annoyance of the loss of proceeds legitimately belonging to him, the serious personal grievance of having his work wrongly presented to his readers. The English books which were finding sale in the United States were at the same time being appropriated in still larger numbers, partly because there was more literature to take, and partly, of course, because there was a rapidly increasing American public which was active-minded and which was prepared, if the prices could be made sufficiently low, to buy increasing numbers of books.

The league for which my father acted as secretary continued in existence until his death in 1872. This association was responsible for the introduction in Congress of a number of bills having for their purpose the bringing about of international copyright relations, first, and most importantly of course, with England, and secondly with the other literature-producing countries of the world. There were also during this period three separate attempts to secure copyright with Great Britain by means of an individual treaty. My father was always hopeful that in the near future "And possibly, Haven," he would say, "next year, we shall have international copyright." But on one ground or another, the long series of efforts failed to produce any satisfactory results. The Congressmen were ignorant of the subject and not easily to be interested in it. To the general public, the idea of property in literature was something of which there was no general understanding and in which there was but a very limited interest. It was only a few of the more intelligent editors who as far back as 1872 were prepared to give any attention to the subject in their journals. The feeling

was rather general that any copyright statute must increase the cost, and possibly diminish the supply, of books and that the educational development of the country was more or less dependent upon the possibility of getting the best literature at the smallest cost. There was also a lack of harmony of opinion and therefore, of course, of consistency of action, on the part of those who were in form, at least, working to bring about international copyright. Some of the best known of the publishing houses had been doing a profitable business in bringing into print, very promptly after the publication on the other side, American editions of English books likely to prove of interest to American readers. The facilities possessed by these houses with transatlantic correspondents for getting early "copy" for the printers, and their trade connections throughout the country, made it possible for them, without the protection of law, to get the better of their smaller and less well-known competitors first in the promptness of publication and later in the cheapness of the books. These publishers made a practice, however, of paying the transatlantic author a certain honorarium for his authorization. They took what they chose and they paid what they chose, and the author with no legal rights was thankful to get ten pounds when he could not get fifty and was very ready in receiving fifty to give a full quittance of any claim on the general proceeds. The largest business of this kind was done by the old Methodist concern of the Harper Brothers and the Harpers were, therefore, during the period back of 1892, never very keenly interested in bringing about an international copyright arrangement under which all the English authors, and the American publishers authorized to represent these authors, would be placed upon the same footing before the law. The Harpers were, from an early date, members of the publishers' copyright association, but they were usually

able by some difference of opinion at the critical moment to emphasize that, however desirable in itself international copyright might be, "the particular measure" that had at that time been put into shape was not going to be satisfactory. They took the same part of quiet antagonism to the several treaties that were proposed. The action of the other great publishing house of the time, the Appletons, was much more satisfactory. William H. Appleton, who had in the forties succeeded the founder, his father Daniel, became the first president of the Publishers' League and remained president until his death. Mr. Appleton took an active part in helping to shape the several bills that were presented and he used his personal influence also in connection with the proposed treaties.

My father, as usual, accepted the lion's share of the work. He acted as secretary and he had full authority to use Mr. Appleton's name in connection with the operations carried on. The last piece of work done by him in the interests of the public was in behalf of the copyright bill that was pending in 1872. Early in November in that year, he went to Washington as secretary of the league and at the request or with the instructions (as he understood, arrived at unanimously) of the members of the executive committee, he was to present before the joint committee of the Representatives and the Senate, the contentions of the league, which included at that time the authors as well as the publishers. Mr. Bryant was at the time the president of the general or National Copyright Association. My father spoke in the committee room in behalf of the pending bill, which had, as he reported, secured the general approval both of the authors and of the publishers. He was not a little disappointed and mortified to be confronted in the committee room by a New York lawyer (who happened to be a personal acquaintance) who stated to the committee that he was there to

represent Messrs. Harper Brothers and to ask in their behalf that the committee would *not* take favourable action on the pending bill. He claimed that the bill as framed would work to the disadvantage of the great literary interests of the American community. If the Harpers had been prepared, as were certain of the avowed pirates, to oppose the bill openly, their action would have been consistent and simple. In permitting, however, the representative of the publishers' committee to make the statement that the bill represented the substantially unanimous opinion of the book trade as well as of the authors, and in waiting until the last moment to put in the fatal objection after my father and others had devoted so much earnest labour to the work, the Harpers played a part that was difficult to explain or to defend. The chairman of the joint committee, old Senator Morrill of Vermont, after listening to the representative of the Harpers, said that Mr. Putnam seemed to be in error in his understanding that those who were interested had arrived at a concensus of opinion in regard to the form of a copyright measure.

> The committee is not prepared [said the Senator] to take individual action in regard to such a matter. We are quite ready to accept the views of those who have to do with the production and the distribution of literature. When you gentlemen are agreed among yourselves, bring in your bill and this committee will see that the measure is properly reported for the action of the two Houses.

My father returned from Washington not only disappointed at this adverse result, but keenly troubled at the manner in which the defeat of the measure had been brought about. He was also over-fatigued as well with his journey and with the excitement of his task as in

connection with certain harassing conditions of his own business. I can but feel as if this disaster to the cause of copyright to which he had given so many years of earnest and public-spirited thought and labour, was a large factor in undermining his vitality. It was because of this lack of vital force that a fainting fit, which with a stronger man would have been a passing difficulty, caused his death in December.

In coming into association with my father in the publishing business, I found myself at once interested in his ideas in regard to literary property and inspired by his ideal of a world-wide republic of literature which should be unhampered by political divisions or restrictions. During the years of our partnership, from 1866 to his death in 1872, I had the opportunity of listening to much of the talk that went on in the office on the part of those who were, like my father, working for a recognition of literary property and for the removal of the stigma which had been placed upon our country by the complaints of transatlantic authors in regard to the piracies of the Americans. Mr. Bryant, Francis Lieber, Edmund C. Stedman, William C. Prime, and others who had for years taken part in the work on behalf of international copyright, were from time to time visitors at 661 Broadway, and I had been permitted to share in the councils of these older leaders. It was natural, therefore, that after the death of my father I should have kept before me the idea of taking up the fight to which he had devoted himself. The only question was as to the time when any fresh efforts could be made with prospect of success.

During the years succeeding 1872, several bills in behalf of international copyright were introduced into the House, but only one of these ever got out of committee. This bill, the ninth in the series of the international copyright measures, was introduced in 1884 by Mr. Dorsheimer of

New York. It was approved by the Copyright League and was favourably reported to the House from the Committee on the Judiciary. It reached the stage of being discussed in the House, but a resolution to fix a day for its final consideration was defeated. In 1885, Mr. Lowell accepted the presidency of the Copyright League and Mr. Stedman was made its vice-president. In the same year, at the instance of the League, Senator Hawley of Connecticut introduced a bill substantially identical with that of Mr. Dorsheimer. It provided simply for the extension to foreign authors of the copyright privileges enjoyed by citizens or residents of the United States. It was, like most of its predecessors, buried in the files of the Committee on the Judiciary. In 1884 and in 1885, the annual messages of Presidents Arthur and Cleveland contained earnest recommendations for the enactment of some measure of international copyright. In January, 1886, the twelfth international copyright bill was brought before the Senate by Jonathan Chace of Rhode Island and was referred to the Committee on Patents. The introduction of the Chace bill marked an epoch in the history of the long struggle. The work of education through the public press, the distribution of pamphlets, and the presentation of "missionary" addresses were at last bearing fruit. By 1886, the question was no longer as to whether there should be a measure of international copyright, but what form the law should take. In November, 1887, the American Copyright League (which was composed in the main of the authors of the country) instructed its executive committee to use its efforts to secure the passage of the Chace bill. Of this committee, Edward Eggleston was chairman, George Walton Green secretary, and Robert Underwood Johnson treasurer. In the same month, the organization was effected of the American Publishers' Copyright League, with William H. Appleton as president,

A. C. McClurg, vice-president, Charles Scribner as treasurer, and myself as secretary. The meeting of the publishers at which this organization had been brought about had been called at my instance and I was, therefore, now in a position to continue the work that had been initiated by my father nearly fifty years earlier. The executive committee of the Publishers' League was instructed to co-operate with the American authors in securing an international copyright. A conference committee was, at my suggestion, made up from the executive committees of the two leagues and every subsequent step in the campaign, until the passage of the bill in 1891, was taken by this conference committee. I acted as secretary of the conference committee until November, 1889, when, on the ground of a breakdown of health, I was ordered to spend a winter in Colorado. The management of the secretary's work of the joint committee was during my absence in the hands of Mr. Robert Underwood Johnson. The preparation of the documents and the direction of the correspondence of our joint committee had been divided between Mr. Johnson and myself, and we also took turns in the arduous work of attending in Washington the hearings before the committees of the House and in the Senate. Important service in the capital was rendered by Edward Eggleston, who devoted many weeks to bringing personal influence to bear upon doubtful Representatives and stubborn Senators. President Cleveland took a keen interest in the copyright measure and was not a little disappointed that it did not become law in time to be classed with the things accomplished under his administration. Invaluable service to the cause was also rendered by the graceful personal influence of Mrs. Cleveland, who was cordially and intelligently interested in the purpose of our undertaking. Copyright leagues were organized in Boston and in Chicago and auxiliary committees took

shape in St. Louis, Cincinnati, Minneapolis, Denver, Buffalo, Colorado Springs, and other places.

I had the opportunity during my winter in Colorado of doing a little "missionary" work for the cause. I had when "drumming" up in Washington possible supporters for the copyright bill, called upon Mr. Townsend who was at the time the single Representative for Colorado; but I had found him not very much interested in the matter, and as far as he was interested, he was opposed to the bill. He had the impression, which was shared by not a few of the Representatives of the South and South-West, that the "interests of his constituents demanded cheap books" and that any payments made to foreign authors must, of necessity, increase the cost of books and stand in the way of their wide distribution. While in Colorado, I had the opportunity of organizing some public opinion in support of our measure. I got up meetings in Colorado Springs and Denver and had petitions circulated in other towns that I could not reach for meetings. The governor of the State was a Connecticut man and a Yale graduate and a number of the judges and lawyers were New Englanders, and these men were ready to understand the purpose and character of our measure. The petitions and the reports of the meetings were forwarded to Washington and, of necessity, came into the hands of the single representative of the State, Mr. Townsend. I took pains that my name should in no way be connected with these papers, and Mr. Townsend must have been not a little puzzled to know what it was that had stirred up his constituents in a manner so contrary to his own expectations. On my way back to New York from Colorado in the spring of 1890, I repeated my call upon Townsend. He thought that I had just come from New York. He greeted me with some effusion. "Mr. Putnam," he said, "I have a very intelligent constituency. I find that they are much

interested in this measure of copyright. You have no idea of the extent of this interest. Why," he continued, "I have during the past weeks received dozens of petitions and reports of addresses in favour of international copyright. I am going to vote for your bill." I naturally expressed my cordial appreciation both of the intelligence of the great State of Colorado and of the open-mindedness of its representative who was prepared to be influenced by suggestions coming from such a constituency.

If it had only been possible to carry on similar missionary work throughout the South and West, we might have secured a like change of heart on the part of Representatives from Arkansas, Texas, and Florida. The Congressmen from the South and West remained, however, with a few noteworthy exceptions, opposed to our bill, which was finally carried by the votes of New England, the Middle States, and the North-West. The country was too big for personal visits on the part of members of a small committee which had no groups of speakers available and no money for travelling expenses. Something was accomplished, however, towards the education of far-off communities by the use of the press. We sent out from our committee rooms from week to week thousands of more or less cleverly written editorial sermons, paragraphs, references to literary conditions on the other side of the Atlantic, stories turning upon the value of copyright for literary production and upon the necessity, for the higher interests of the community, of removing all restrictions upon literary production. The editors of a number of newspapers, particularly in the smaller and far-off places where editorial and literary material was comparatively scarce, were not unwilling to make space for our communications. Some labour was saved also in the matter of the typesetting of this material by arrangements made with two or three syndicates which at that time controlled what is

known as the "patent inside" business. Such syndicates have doubtless largely increased in later years, but in 1888, there were, I think, but three of any importance, two in New York and one in Chicago. These syndicates made up a quarto page of the size which was standard or at least usual with the county town papers. This page, containing literary material, guaranteed to be "interesting and informing," was put into the form of a stereotyped or electrotyped plate and this plate was sent by express to the county papers which had subscribed for it. The cost of such a plate for a weekly issue averaged, if I remember rightly, $5.00. It was intended in any case to be something less than the amount that would be paid by the newspaper for putting similar material into type irrespective of any price paid for the literary material. It was part of the agreement that the syndicate should send such a plate each week to but a single paper in any one county. I arranged with the editorial managers of two of these syndicates to occupy during a term of months, for alternate weeks, one column in the "patent inside" that was being thus distributed to thousands of county papers. I agreed that such columns should contain "interesting and informing matter." I secured contributions for the column from Edward Eggleston, Richard Watson Gilder, Henry Van Dyke, R. R. Bowker, and other clever writers who were working in the cause of copyright. The material possessed, of course, a higher literary quality than was as a rule to be found in the literary sketches and papers purchased by the editors of the "patent insides"; and the authors, and particularly men like Eggleston who had been in direct touch with the Western literary taste, were on the whole clever in shaping their "sermons" so that they should not be skipped by the readers of the page. These "patent insides" went to thousands of journals, and while the Congressmen from the districts in which these papers

were published must have heard of the "patent inside" system, they could not get over the impression that an article printed in the home paper must represent, to some extent at least, the opinion of the constituents. I heard Congressman after Congressman refer with pride, mingled with a little surprise, to the intelligent service that was being rendered by the local paper in his district to the educational work of the copyright cause.

A noteworthy feature in the authors' share of the campaign was the holding of "authors' readings" at meetings called for the purpose in New York, Washington, Boston, Chicago, and elsewhere, at which the leading authors of the country read selections from their own writings. Among the authors who co-operated in these readings were Lowell, Curtis, Eggleston, Stedman, Stoddard, Gilder, Stockton, Bunner, Cable, Page, Hawthorne, "Mark Twain," Riley, "Uncle Remus," and others. The readings were well attended and served as an effective advertisement of the copyright cause, while the admission fees helped to defray some of the "missionary" expenses of the campaign.

The opponents of the bill included the representatives of certain publishing concerns which believed they could look for larger profits from the appropriation of transatlantic literature than by securing, under payment to the transatlantic authors, the full control of the material for the American market. There were at that time in course of publication a number of so-called "libraries" in which were presented in cheap form, at prices ranging from twenty-five cents to ten cents, the noteworthy English fiction of the day. The most successful of these "libraries" was that issued by the two Munro brothers, Canadians who had settled in New York; the great Dalhousie apartment house was built from the profits of the appropriation by the Munros of the work of English

authors. Some of these concerns were represented openly by counsel in Washington who neglected no opportunity for opposing or at least for delaying our measure. There was, unfortunately, no difficulty in finding among the Representatives and Senators men who were sufficiently confused in their minds to be prepared to believe that those who were talking in behalf of copyright were supporting "monopoly against the great interests of the common people." The only important leader from the South who gave help on our side (and his help was very valuable) was W. C. P. Breckenridge, an eloquent Representative from Kentucky. I had known Breckenridge in connection with our work in the Free-trade League, and I found him very ready to take in suggestions in regard to the international copyright matter and very able to utilize the material placed in his hands for eloquent and forcible speeches in the House and in the committee rooms. Breckenridge would have been a great leader for his party if his character had been on a par with his abilities. He was some years later compelled to retire from the House on the ground of some personal scandal and he died in his country village forgotten and a failure.

I remember learning one morning by a wire which reached me in New York from a friend of the cause in Washington, that on the following morning a hearing had been arranged for before the committee of the House by the opponents of the bill. I realized the importance of having someone present to represent the supporters of the bill. I telegraphed to the chairman of the committee asking that a portion of the time should be given to the representatives of our group. I then sent word to Mr. G., the lawyer who was acting as counsel for our League, that we must take the night train together so as to be in the committee room in Washington at ten o'clock. G. came at once to the office in a state of protest. "I understand,"

he said, "that the case against the bill is to be presented by some well-known lawyers, Judge Arnoux and his partners from New York, and possibly others. I cannot do justice to the cause or to my own professional standing if I am called upon to answer without preparation a carefully prepared legal argument." "But," I replied, "what is the alternative? It will be disadvantageous and might prove disastrous to have the committee brought under the influence of arguments, legal and other, for the defeat of our bill with no word of response from its supporters. You must go and do the best you can." Our counsel was serving under an annual stipend and he was, in fact, subject to instructions from myself as secretary. "I am sorry," he said, "I must decline." "Then I go alone," I replied, "but on my return, I shall report to my committee that in a time of emergency we cannot depend upon our counsel."

I found the committee room filled with men who were opposed to international copyright and these witnesses were using as their spokesman Judge Arnoux, a well-known lawyer of New York, and his young partner, Mr. Bovee. The chairman of the committee was Culbertson, I think, of Texas, whom I knew to be an opponent of the bill. Arnoux had frequently come into print with arguments against international copyright and I had for some time been trying to make him state in public what interests he was representing. I thought I now had an opportunity of bringing him to book on this point. Before the formal arguments began, I asked permission to be heard for a moment on a point of order. "It seems," I said to the chairman, "that your honourable body is sitting here in the capacity of a court. You are listening to evidence and to arguments for the purpose of making up a judgment that you are going to report to the House. If this view is correct, I will ask 'your honour' to follow the court procedure and to secure from the gentlemen you permit to

address the 'court' a statement as to the clients or interests represented by them. I am here, 'your honour,' as the authorized representative of the Copyright Leagues of Authors and Publishers by which this bill has been framed. I claim also to be a representative of the great literary interests of the whole country and I am speaking for those who believe that the international honour of our country is at stake in this matter of the appropriation of the work of transatlantic producers. If 'your honour' agrees with my contention, I suggest that you should ask the learned counsel on the other side of the room what interests and what clients are represented by them." Mr. Culbertson was not displeased to be placed in the position of a judge and was ready to accept my contention that it was in order for those who were given the privilege of the "court" to state for whom they appeared. Arnoux, however, was not at all pleased with this requirement. He retired into the corner with his partner and after a little consideration returned and reported to the committee that he and his associate were there to defend the interests of a Philadelphia client, Mr. I. K. I suggested to the chairman that the committee was not being dealt with candidly by the learned counsel. I said that as a publisher I had knowledge of the business standing of Mr. K. He was in a modest way of business (he was, in fact, getting a living largely out of the appropriation of German books) and his entire capital, the amount of which I happened to know, was not sufficient to pay the kind of retainer that would be demanded for a month's service from the distinguished lawyer who had just spoken. "There must," I contended, "be other clients associated with Mr. K. to secure the services of a great leader of the Bar like Judge Arnoux." The Judge was not displeased at my compliment but found himself, nevertheless, troubled at my persistence. The chairman

was still, fortunately, prepared to agree with me, being annoyed on his part at the idea that he was not being treated frankly. Arnoux held, however, to his report of a single client, K., with the result that the chairman, opposed as he was to our bill (which he afterwards voted against), was ready to recommend to his committee that the bill should be reported to the House. Later in the morning I utilized the half-hour allowed me with which to reply to the hour and a half given to Arnoux and to Bovee. I got along fairly well without the service of our timid counsel, and on my return to New York, the committee agreed with me in the conclusion that it was not desirable to retain in the service of the League a counsel that could not act in an emergency.

In addition to the work in Washington among the Congressmen and others of possible influence, the members of our publicity committee took pains to keep the subject before the public in as many centres as could be reached. The moral obligations of the people of the United States to literary workers at home and abroad, and the importance for the development of American literature of securing adequate legal recognition and protection for literary property, were made the subject of discussions in literary societies throughout the country. The matter was also taken up in a number of denominational conventions at their annual dinners; we also succeeded in interesting the associations of ministers, so that more than once during the years of our campaign, the ethical side of copyright was emphasized in hundreds of sermons throughout the country. One of the best of these sermons was preached to his congregation in the Brick Church in New York by Dr. Henry Van Dyke, and we persuaded him to repeat it later in the Presbyterian Church in Washington, securing for him, by individual invitation, a number of hearers from both Houses of Congress. I divided an evening with Dr.

Van Dyke at an annual dinner of the Congregational Club of New York. I was fairly familiar with the ethical considerations in behalf of copyright that he had presented so eloquently on various previous occasions. I persuaded the presiding officer at the dinner to permit me to speak first on the ground that the proceedings could fitly be closed by the better known orator. I utilized my time to deliver Dr. Van Dyke's sermon. When his turn came, he had, as he stated, no other course open to him than to devote his time to the consideration of the business side of the question, largely appropriated, as he frankly admitted, from arguments and statements he had heard from Mr. Putnam. The education of public opinion is a slow process, but by constant hammering something can be accomplished and after years of effort, we found that the public throughout the country was interested in the subject of literary property and was prepared to emphasize with its representatives in Congress the importance of national action.

There were various disheartening delays in the committees, and after the bill was reported to the two Houses, it seemed for a time at least as if there would be no possibility of securing for it a final vote. The calendar was crowded with measures in which the interest on the part of Congressmen was much keener than in copyright. With the skilful steering in the Senate on the part of Senator Platt (of Connecticut) and Senator Lodge, and in the House by Mr. Simonds of New Haven and Breckenridge of Kentucky, it finally proved practicable, in the very last hour of the last day, or rather night, of the session to bring the measure to a vote. Even after a favourable vote in each House, its success was by no means assured. Certain differences had arisen between the two Houses and the delay required for the conference committee added seriously to the risk of defeat. In the conference, it became necessary, for the purpose of bringing the two Houses into

accord, to make further concessions to the manufacturing interests. The legislation of the United States in regard to copyright has differed materially from that of other nations in respect to the interests that the American Congressmen believe to be entitled to consideration in the shaping of the provisions of a statute. In England, France, or Germany, copyright statutes have been framed by committees of experts who have secured information from the parties who in their judgment were entitled to be heard on such a subject: namely, from the authors, artists, and composers, and from the business representatives of these three classes, together with copyright lawyers and a few publicists. The people who had interests connected with the manufacturing of books or of music or with the reproductions of works of art were, of course, interested in any measures that would affect the proceeds of the business of selling books, music, or art reproductions. The lawmakers of Europe had, however, taken the ground that these manufacturing interests were properly to be considered in the rooms of the tariff committees. They would not accept the view that printers or paper-makers or photographers had any proper concern with the making of copyright law. In the United States on the other hand, after protection had been accepted as the national policy, that is to say, in all the copyright legislation later than 1862, the Congressmen had not only called into their councils the representatives of the manufacturing concerns, but had shown themselves more ready to give weight to their arguments and to be guided by their contentions than they were to listen to authors, artists, or composers.

It proved practicable in 1891 to secure acceptance of international copyright only by accepting the contention of the manufacturing interests that all articles securing American copyright must be produced within the United States. The bill, as passed, represented a decided advance

over the previous barbarous conditions under which the literary productions of Europeans could be, and had been, appropriated without consideration. The new statute still, however, left the United States outside the comity of nations. The civilized states of the world, with the single exception of the United States, had under the Convention of Berne, which came into force in 1886, abrogated, as far as literary property was concerned, all international boundaries, all political lines. For the purposes of art and of literature, Europe became after 1886 (with the exception of one or two states of smaller literary importance) one community.

The law of 1891 marked, however, a decided advance on the part of the United States towards a civilized conception of literary property. The fact that it was in more ways than one inadequate and ineffective and the hope that it should prove practicable in the years to come to secure a more satisfactory measure, made it desirable to continue the organization of the Copyright League. We found also that the opponents of copyright were by no means ready to withdraw their opposition. During the years since 1891, persistent attempts have been made from year to year to undermine the copyright relations of the United States with Europe and to restore the old condition under which piracy was possible and more or less profitable. I continued, therefore, to act as secretary of the League during the years that have passed since the statute of 1891 and the responsibilities of the position have made an increased instead of a decreased draft on my time and attention. I have been called upon to act as the representative of the Copyright League and of the literary interests of the United States at the successive conventions that have been held of the International Publishers' Association. The purpose and work of this association are described in a later chapter.

The provisions of the law of 1891, while more or less troublesome in connection with books of English authors, which constitute, of course, by far the most important portion of the literature to be considered, proved to be peculiarly unsatisfactory in regard to books originating abroad in language other than English. The condition of American manufacture, added to the requirement for simultaneous publication, made it almost impossible to secure American copyright for the books for which it was necessary to produce an English version before the manufacturing could be begun. We had given copyright to Germany, France, and Italy in form, but in fact, the authors of these countries could secure but a trifling possibility of advantage from their American market. I felt that the acknowledgment made to me by the government of France for my service to France and to literature, in the graceful form of a cross of the Legion of Honour, had been secured on inadequate grounds. I began, therefore, early after the enactment of the law, working to secure an amendment which should meet this special difficulty in the case of continental books. It was difficult, however, to interest Congressmen in the question of justice for continental authors. They did not think it likely that there would be on the Continent, as they admitted there might be in England, any offsetting advantage for American authors. It took years to secure an amendment which permitted an interval of twelve months within which an American edition was to be produced of a work originating abroad in a language other than English. During this twelve months, an *ad interim* copyright protected the work in the original.

In 1907, conferences were instituted to secure further consideration for the matter of copyright and to induce Congress to do something to bring the American statute into more consistent and workable form. After two years

of efforts more or less similar in character to those which had been given to the work between 1886 and 1891, we were able to secure the enactment of the law which went into effect in July, 1909. It was evident during the conferences and the committee hearings that preceded this legislation that the manufacturing interests were able to exert a still larger influence over the opinions and the decisions of the members of Congress than had been the case eighteen years earlier, and in the committee rooms no less than twenty-three organizations were represented whose interests were concerned with one division or another of the manufacturing of the copyrighted articles. The chairmen of the committees gave to the representatives of these interests a much fuller measure of time and consideration than they were prepared to extend to the authors, artists, or composers, or to the publishers who acted as the business representatives of these producers of copyrighted property.

The bill as finally enacted did mark in certain important respects an advance over the preceding statute in the theory and in the recognition of copyright. The term of copyright was extended and the remedies for infringement were made more consistent and effective. A decided advantage was secured for continental authors in removing, as far as their books were concerned, the manufacturing restriction. These authors were thereafter able to make copyright entries at once with the copies of the original edition and secured in this way a full protection for the American term. In certain important provisions, however, the law made a step backward. The manufacturing restrictions on English books were extended and made more strenuous. The provision providing for the extension of copyright was so shaped as to leave subject to cancellation or to appropriation without consideration important investments made by the publishers in copy-

righted property. A publisher who, under the law at that time in force, had made purchase of a copyright, and, with the understanding that even after his control of the market had ceased he would always have freedom of action in such market, had made investments in electrotype plates and in illustrations and in securing introductions for text-books, found himself, under the new law, exposed to the risk of having the value of this property entirely cancelled. The extended term of copyright could be secured, not only as under previous legislation by the author, his widow, or his children, but by any representative or assign of the author. The publisher who had procured the original copyright was not even permitted to join in the application for the extension. The heir securing control of the copyright for the extended term was, therefore, placed in a position to "hold up" the publisher for a "penalty payment," with the alternative that if such payment be not made, the further use of the publisher's plates would be prevented.

I argued persistently against this provision, pointing out the serious injustice that would thus be brought upon all publishers making investments in copyrighted property and particularly upon publishers having to do with educational works in which the cost of introduction constituted the largest portion of the investment. The exaggerated dread of "monopoly" on the part of the publishers prevented the Congressmen from understanding the real nature of the objection. The librarians, with certain purposes of their own for which they wanted support, joined with the authors in supporting the provision as worded. In the years since 1909, the evil effects of the provision have been made apparent in a series of "strikes" undertaken by the heirs of authors upon the property interests of publishers who had made investments in copyrighted property.

Another provision of the new statute which is absolutely contrary to the principles of copyright, and to the practice of copyright law in all other countries, is that which leaves to libraries, incorporated or unincorporated, and to individuals who certify that they are "importing for use and not for sale," the privilege of bringing into the United States, without reference to the restriction of American copyright, foreign editions of works which have secured copyright. The American publisher who purchases the American copyright of a book, or who purchases simply the publication rights for such book, secures for his expenditure not the control of the American market such as under a similar purchase is given to the transatlantic publisher, but simply the privilege of competing in that market with the transatlantic editions of the same book. In one provision, the statute gives (as had been given by all earlier statutes) to the producer of the copyrighted property and his assign the full control or "monopoly" during the term specified. In a later provision, it leaves the market so assigned open to the invasion of transatlantic editions of the same books from the sales of which the owner of the American copyright derives little or no advantage, while the property of both author and publisher in the American edition is seriously undermined.

It was doubtless the case that the wave of public and legislative opinion that was in 1907 beginning to take shape in the country against combinations and trusts which might, through the control of monopolies, work to the disadvantage of the community, materially affected the common-sense and justice of this copyright statute. It will probably be some time before it will prove possible to make clear to legislators that there are monopolies and monopolies. It has always been understood that certain disadvantages must accrue to the community in leaving with a producer for a term of years the absolute control of

his production; but it has been made clear in all the history of copyright law that the advantages to the community in encouraging the production of copyrighted property far outweigh the occasional inconvenience that may arise through the unwise action of an author, artist, or composer. The experience of the world must be accepted as a factor in the shaping of copyright law as in all legislation, and sooner or later even an American Congress will be able to free itself from the parochial or district method of law-making.

I came into relations once or twice with the conditions of copyright law in Great Britain. In 1879, I was called as an expert witness before a royal or parliamentary commission which was then in session and which had for its purpose the framing of the new copyright statute. I have somewhere on file the list of the members of the commission. I can recall at the moment only the names of Mr. Goschen, afterwards Baron Goschen, and Lord John Manners, later the Earl of Rutland. Lord John Manners was undoubtedly a conscientious and patriotic statesman. I have the impression, however, that he was known to his generation chiefly by certain lines attributed to him:

> Let wealth and commerce, laws and learning die,
> But leave us still our old nobility.

The commission of 1879 framed a bill which, if enacted into law, would certainly have constituted a decided improvement upon the statute of 1842 at that time in force. This bill, constituted as a result of the very important and enormous mass of testimony, never got out of the pigeonhole of the parliamentary committee to which it was, I suppose, referred. Twenty years later, a bill introduced into the House of Lords, carrying the name of Lord Monkswell, presented with a few changes conclusions identical with those of the report of this commission.

Baron Monkswell made one or two speeches in defence of the measure, which had the support of the Authors' Society and of the publishers and authors who were interested in literary property.

During the succeeding thirty years, the successive administrations included men who had literary and scientific interests such as Gladstone, Beaconsfield, Salisbury, and Balfour; but no prime minister found time, in the midst of the political contentions of his day, to give attention to the unsatisfactory condition of British copyright law.

It was not until 1911 that a new attempt was made, which this time proved successful, to secure legislation on the subject. The bill of this year, for the management of which in the House the Postmaster-General, Sydney Buxton, was chiefly responsible and which enlisted in its support so distinctive an author as Augustine Birrell, went into force in July, 1912. The framers have succeeded in getting rid of many of the incongruities and inconsistencies of the earlier statute but they have, in my judgment, still failed to secure for the British Empire a scientific system of copyright. Under the present policy of the Empire, the so-called independent colonies, whose copyright systems had heretofore been subordinated to the imperial authority and which had, therefore, with Great Britain become parties to the Convention of Berne, are now to be left free to institute separate copyright territories to control by their own local regulations. Canada and Australia have been so eager to take advantage in copyright of an independence which they had already secured in so many other departments of government, that before the British statute had become law, they had already placed on the calendars of their respective legislatures bills instituting a local copyright system. In copyright as in commercial law, the two great independent

colonies have followed the lines of protective policy; and Canada has followed the bad precedent of the United States in making the recognition of literary property depend upon manufacturing conditions. Years of time will evidently still be required to place the literary conditions of the world outside of political prejudices and local commercial restrictions. It would be rather absurd if the institution of the Republic of Letters must wait for the federation of mankind.

I think it was in 1894 that I was called to Washington with the word that an amendment to the copyright law was, on the following morning, to be brought to the consideration of the House Committee on the Judiciary, of which General Draper, who was later our Ambassador to Rome, was chairman. The word came, as often, by wire, and I had no time to secure knowledge as to the nature of the amendment, but it seemed probable from the wording of the message that the changes proposed might prove serious. I telegraphed for an opportunity of being heard, but no answer had arrived before I left New York.

On entering the committee room, I found that there were on one side of the room eleven witnesses marshalled by a capable lawyer from Boston, who were interested in an amendment which in form at least provided simply for some extension of the privilege of appropriating musical compositions. The committee included hardly any one who had been concerned in the copyright arguments of four years earlier, and there appeared to be, as far as I could gather from a hasty word with the members before the committee was called to order, very little knowledge of the subject and but a perfunctory interest in the pending amendment. General Draper had had a distinguished record in the army, and while I had never met him, I had taken pains to inform myself as to the chief events of his Civil War experiences. My Loyal Legion button brought

me at once a friendly greeting from the General, who was the only other veteran in the room.

"Well, Major," he inquired, "what do you want?" "I have no personal axe to grind, General. I am here simply to prevent you gentlemen from undermining the copyright system of the land." "Are we doing anything as serious as that?" asked the General. I then went over with him the wording of the amendment, to which I had given a brief study, and pointed out that it would, if enacted, constitute a practical abrogation of the international relations that had after so much labour been established four years earlier. "Why," he said, "they told me that this change had for its purpose simply the facilitating of the musical business of the United States. It evidently calls for careful consideration. How can I best serve you in the matter?" "Well, sir," I said, "I should like to get back to New York this afternoon. I judge that the arguments that these men will present will be practically identical with those with which we had to contend some years back when we were attempting to establish international copyright. If the chairman does not consider it out of order, I should like to give my objections as soon as the committee begins its session." "Well," said the General, "I am quite ready to meet such a request coming from a fellow veteran." The result was that I spoke first, much to the annoyance of the counsel from Boston and from St. Louis who were looking after the interests of the musical pirates. I succeeded in making clear to the committee that the amendment had to do not with a mere detail but with the general principles of copyright and international relations. I had just completed my twenty minutes' talk when an urgent message came up from the House to the effect that some special business was pending which called for the presence on the floor of all of the members of the committee. "I am sorry," said the

General to the group of witnesses who were waiting to be heard. "There is some really important business going on downstairs and we shall have to adjourn this committee until tomorrow." As I passed out of the room, the General whispered in my ear: "It's all right, Major. We shall not report the bill." The really important business that was going on downstairs was a resolution of rebuke to ex-Senator Bayard, who was at that time Minister at St. James, for some utterance that he had made in an informal speech, an utterance which, if I remember rightly, constituted a reflection on the protective policy of the United States. The rebuking by a Republican majority of a Minister who represented a Democratic administration was naturally important business as compared with the consideration of the international copyright relations of the United States. In this particular instance, however, I could not feel that any serious injury had resulted to the country by the delay on the part of the committee in passing upon the measure of the musical pirates.

The responsibilities of the Copyright League has involved continued labour for the secretary from year to year since the reorganization of the League in 1886. This requirement for work on the part of the secretary did not come to a close with the enactment of the statute of 1909, which at this time of writing (1915) is still in force. There is still necessity for watchfulness at each session of Congress against attempts on the part of special interests, mainly personal, to modify the statute in order to put them in a position to appropriate the property or the results of the labour of the original producers; and successive committees (in House and in Senate) charged with the work of taking care of the interests of art, literature, and music, have shown a large measure of ignorance in regard to the nature of copyright or the conditions under which the business in copyright property must be

carried on. In this matter of the protection of literary property, as in various other matters, the conditions of which are not very different in the United States from those obtaining in the other civilized states of the world, it is a legitimate charge against American political leaders, men who have the responsibility for the shaping of legislation, that they refuse to study the experience of legislators and the result of legislation in other states. The world, and particularly the American world, has never secured sufficient advantage from the centuries of experience which lie behind. It is, however, particularly in the United States that the Congressmen and the Executive are subject to the charge of undue cockiness, based upon substantial ignorance of the matter in train. It is on this ground that the law of 1909, like that of 1891, is defective, inconsistent, and inadequate. It fails to secure the reasonable protection for the property rights of producers, literary, artistic, and musical, which is given in all the states of Europe as a matter of routine and for the interests not only of the producers but of the whole community. It is only in the United States that a law does not seem to be absurd which, while giving with one hand the right to control a copyright protection, undermines that right with the other. The present statute, for instance, provides in its earlier sections as before stated that in the United States, as elsewhere, the producer of the copyrighted article shall have the full control for himself and through his business representative of all property rights in the same; while later sections express the hesitancy of the lawmakers in confirming what they call a "monopoly" in the thing produced, and leave this copyright market of the United States open in the case of books to the invasion of editions of the same books produced on the other side of the Atlantic. The legislators are unable to understand that anything that weakens the

title to a literary production lessens the desirability from a business point of view of making investments in such productions and has the result of diminishing the number of books of importance for the community produced in American editions.

The French Government was good enough to give to me after the enactment of the international copyright law, in recognition, as my parchment states, "of service to France and to literature," the cross of the *Légion d'honneur*. Very much the larger benefits from the law were, of course, to accrue to the authors of Great Britain, whose receipts from the United States to be secured under the new copyright system would be many times those that would come to those of all the authors of the continent put together. The English Government is, however, not ready to make recognition for service of this character, but a group of English authors who recognized that hard work had been done and that direct advantages were coming to themselves and to their successors were good enough, at a time when I was in London, to put into shape a testimonial which for purposes of record I think it in order to include in this chapter.

THE UNDERSIGNED, AUTHORS AND OTHERS,

taking advantage of the presence in England of

GEORGE HAVEN PUTNAM,

desire to put on record their sense of his long and disinterested efforts and of those of his Father, the late G. P. Putnam, to secure an International Copyright Act in the United States. The connection of Mr. Putnam and his Father with the American movement in recognition of international literary rights extended over the whole fifty-three years between the historical report of Henry Clay and the passing of the Act in 1891.

Whilst the Undersigned express no opinion as to particular clauses of this Act, they are all convinced that it has removed a great injustice, promoted the interests of literature both in England and in America, and tended to increase the mutual esteem and good feeling of Englishmen and Americans.

They wish, therefore, to convey to George Haven Putnam their warm appreciation of the active part which, with the most honourable motives, he has persistently taken in this successful movement.

Alfred Church
Stanley Lane-Poole
Lewis Sergeant
J. L. Strachan-Davidson
Andrew Lang
Richard Garnett
Thomas Hardy
Alice Gardner
Thos. Hodgkin
W. Warde Fowler
Edmund Gosse
George Meredith
Evelyn Abbott
C. R. L. Fletcher
C. Raymond Beazley
W. Clark Russell
Arthur Conan Doyle
Owen M. Edwards
Laurence Gomme
Adeline Sergeant
James Bryce
W. R. Morfill
William O'Connor Morris
T. W. Rhys-Davids
H. R. Fox-Bourne
William Douglas Morrison
George Rawlinson
C. W. C. Oman
Anthony Hope Hawkins
Edwin Arnold
Hall Caine
Mary A. Ward
P. F. Willert
Arthur L. Smith

CHAPTER XV

The Book-Trade and the Public

The Duty on Books. At the time the Aldrich-Paine Act of 1910 was being formulated, I came into correspondence with Senator Lodge, one of the chief leaders of the Republican party, in regard to the matter of the duty on books. I had heard that consideration was being given by the tariff managers to the suggestion of putting books on the free list. I wrote to the Senator to ascertain what changes if any were being made that would affect the interests of those who had to do with the making of books. Lodge replied that pressure was being brought to bear upon the government by certain of the higher educational interests (I understood from this that he had received a letter from President Eliot of Harvard) to place books on the free list. The Senator pointed out that I, as an old-time free-trader, could raise no logical objection to a measure that was intended to "free literature and higher education from unnecessary burdens." I replied promptly that the group to which I belonged could, of course, raise no objection to such action. I said that we should be delighted to see the burdens of unnecessary customs taxes off of books, but, I added, the relief should be secured not only for imported books, constituting but five per cent. of all that we used in the country, but for the much more important division, the ninety-five per cent. covering

the books that were produced in the United States. I said further that in writing to a protectionist who was also a scholar, I assumed that his recommendation would be for a consistent reduction, and that he would not approve of freeing the finished article from the tax, while the constituent parts of the article were still subjected to a heavy duty. I gave him a list of the thirteen or fourteen articles which were required for the production of books, and which bore duties ranging from ten per cent. to ninety per cent. I said that publishers generally could raise no objections to the freeing of books if at the same time these articles might be freed. A week or more later, I received report from the Senator that after further consideration, the Republican leaders had decided it would not be practicable to remove or to lessen the duty on books. When the Wilson-Underwood tariff was under discussion in 1913, I wrote in somewhat similar fashion to Mr. Underwood, the leader of the House. I thought it very probable that the Democratic leaders would find it desirable to remove or to lessen the duty on books. I reminded Mr. Underwood that the duties on the materials ought to be taken off or reduced in proportion, and I gave him the schedule of these duties. He replied that the suggestion seemed to him sound; and when the duty on books was reduced in the Underwood Act from twenty-five per cent. to fifteen per cent., the duties on all the materials going into books were reduced pro rata.

Predatory Price Cutting. Under existing law as interpreted by the highest judicial authority, the book trade is prohibited from maintaining the regulations which, as has been shown by the experience of other countries, are essential for its wholesome existence and development. Authors and publishers are compelled to stand by while the property interest in their productions is undermined, and booksellers must accept the destruction of their means

of livelihood in order that the buyers of dry-goods may be brought into a "state of mind" concerning the "cheapness" of goods that have no standardized prices and the precise "value" of which is by no means easy to determine.

The use of copyrighted books offered at cut prices as advertisements for other articles constitutes a fatal hindrance to the development and even to the maintenance of the business of the production and distribution of books. When legislators and voters in the United States come to understand, what has for centuries been accepted without question throughout Europe, that intelligently managed bookshops are essential for the higher education of the community, we shall secure the enactment of measures giving the right to repress, or at least to restrict, the predatory price-cutting of copyrighted books. The same principle and the same requirements apply, of course, to all patented articles and to all articles the prices of which are standardized and which have secured an assured good-will value in connection with a name or trade-mark. One trade shall not be permitted for its own benefit to exploit and destroy the good-will value that has been created for the productions of another trade.

My friend Albert Brockhaus, President of the Book-trade Association of Germany, when I had explained at a meeting of the International Association of Publishers some of the difficulties under which the book-trade in the United States was carried on, asked me, "Why should your government act as if publishers were malefactors and as if the business of producing copyrighted books was an injury to the community?" I had made reference to the refusal of Congress to permit the producers of copyrighted property and their assigns to retain the control of their productions, and to the fact that this refusal was in large part due to the jealous interference of the librarians of the United States, a group which in other countries has always

worked in cordial co-operation with the publishers. I had had occasion to explain also the refusal to the book-trade of the right to maintain regulations for the management of its own business, regulations which in other civilized countries had been found of essential value not only to the book-trade itself, but for the whole community. In reply to Brockhaus's question, I could only take the ground that under the teachings of leaders like Bryan, a large part of the voters of the West and the South had gone daft over the term "monopoly." Copyright is a "monopoly," legally constituted; some manufacturers have abused their opportunities and have secured from the communities disproportionate proceeds; therefore the producers of copyrighted books, in place of being encouraged to go on with the development of literature, shall be compelled to carry on their operations with a truncated or fragmentary copyright control; while their business representatives, the publishers and the booksellers, shall be held under the law as conspirators if they attempt to fix the prices of copyrighted productions.

When American legislators shall be able to get away from their ignorant and local standards, and shall be prepared to utilize the experience of other nations, it should prove practicable to bring about for the United States, as has been brought about for the other civilized States of the world, a consistent and effective copyright statute which will carry out the avowed intention of the law of "encouraging the production and the distribution of literature."

International Association of Publishers. Something more than twenty-five years back, the International Association of Publishers was organized. It had for its purpose the bringing together of publishers from the different states of the world in conferences in which consideration could be given to the improvement of statutes

affecting literary property and the harmonizing of the provisions of these statutes, and to questions connected with the tariff on books and the regulations controlling the sale of books, with the view of lessening as far as practicable all barriers in the way of a general exchange of literature among all the book-producing and book-consuming communities of the world. The first convention of the Association was held at Paris and later meetings, at intervals of two, or three, or more years, were held in succession at London, Brussels, Leipsic, Milan, Madrid, The Hague, and Buda-Pesth. At the larger number of these gatherings I was the representative of the American book-trade and I have found myself interested, on more grounds than one, in coming into personal associations with the representative publishers and book dealers of Europe. The meetings of the Association were attended not only by representatives of the producers and distributors of books, music, and works of art, but by authors, composers, artists, and others who were interested in our discussions of methods of securing a more assured and more consistent world-wide copyright protection for property in literary, musical, and art productions. The discussions were in great part carried on in French, but in the case of any delegate not being able to talk in French, his statement was made in his own tongue (the language of origin so to speak) and was translated paragraph by paragraph by an interpreter appointed for the purpose. The standard of education among the publishers and booksellers of Europe is high, and the larger number of them are conversant with several languages, including English. While I could manage a business statement in German, and had no difficulty in understanding the statements made by my German and my French associates, I found it advisable, in order to secure precision of expression, to speak in English. With a little care about enunciation, I

found that with few exceptions the members of the convention had no difficulty in understanding my addresses. The meetings recalled the gatherings held at the time of the old Frankfort Book Fairs in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The members of the book-trade who came together at Frankfort had the advantage, however, in arranging for the exchange of their productions, that Europe possessed at the time but one literary language. A book printed in Paris or Amsterdam in Latin, the current literary language of the day, was available for sale in any book market in Europe. This advantage of a world-wide language must in those earlier days have constituted a large offset for the absence of copyright. The Frankfort publishers complained of "piracies," but the cost of reproducing a book was so considerable that the dealer who had made the investment for the editorial work on the text and for the manufacturing of his edition was for a considerable period fairly secure of his market.

The American representative found himself at a disadvantage in these conventions because the United States was not a member of the Convention of Berne, and had left itself, so to speak, outside of the comity of nations. Under the provisions of the Berne Convention, books secure copyright in the territories of all the states that are parties to the Convention without any special formalities or requirements for copyright entry for the separate states. Such states as Tunis, Liberia, and far-off Japan had found it worth while to meet the regulations of the Convention; but the United States, in connection with the requirement in the American statute under the protective system for the manufacturing within the States of the editions of all books securing American copyright, had to be left as an outsider. In reply to the inquiries made from year to year as to whether the United States was going to accept for the direction of its book business the same

principles and the same regulations that had been adopted by the rest of the world, I could only repeat that the publishers, authors, and booksellers were doing all that they could towards the education of American legislators and of the voters back of the legislators, but that progress was, of necessity, slow. The war of 1914–15 has suspended the operations of the International Association of Publishers, and it is difficult to look forward to any time in the near future when its members may be able to overcome the bitternesses engendered by the strife and may be prepared again to come together in friendly relations. The attempt, however, to place the regulations controlling the production and the distribution of literature on a uniform basis throughout the civilized world was worth making and must again prove of service at some date in the future.

At the second meeting of the Association, held in London, I was called upon to preside at a dinner given in Stationers' Hall at which were present in addition to the representatives of the publishers and booksellers a number of guests from literary circles. I had occasion to introduce to an English audience so well-known an Englishman as Mr. Lecky, and I could only apologize for the apparent impertinence. I also presented to the gathering the distinguished editor of the *Revue des deux Mondes*, Monsieur Brunetière, who also was not a stranger in London. He gave us a charming address in French, making frank acknowledgment of his ignorance of English. He regretted that he had not been able to understand what Monsieur Putnam had been saying about him, but only hoped it was not too wicked. After the dinner, I congratulated our guest on the beauty of his French. His enunciation was so clear that those of us whose ears were not habituated to French found no difficulty in taking in the purport of his speech. He had made an eloquent

appeal for a world-wide organization for literature which would know no political boundaries or barriers. He accepted with a smile my compliment on his French, and said, "Ah, but you see, Monsieur Putnam, they taught me how in New York." He had recently returned from the States where he had been giving a series of lectures, and his American advisers had doubtless cautioned him as to the importance of clear enunciation and a not too rapid delivery.

CHAPTER XVI

Some Later Publishing Undertakings

It is not possible, within the compass of this volume, to present any detailed record of the publishing undertakings of the concern during the half-century since 1872—nor would such a record possess sufficient interest for the general public. I will mention here only two or three publications which, on one ground or another, seem to have some distinctive interest.

International Series. During this period, we have had in course of publication and are, in fact, still continuing, certain series which, apart from the value of their volumes for students or for readers, possess some international importance. It had been the theory of my father that publishing undertakings should not be restricted by political boundaries. Far in advance of the establishment of international copyright, he had schemes in train for the production of international series which, under the supervision of a general editor or of an international editorial committee, the members of which would work with harmony of purpose and of policy, should secure contributions from representatives of all nationalities who were the best authorities on the several subjects confided to them. He pointed out that when the cost of authorship and of illustrations could be divided between several markets, the investment in the undertaking would be so

far reduced that the publisher would be in a position to place the book in the hands of the consumer at a comparatively moderate cost.

He showed further that in so far as one language was available for two markets, as, for instance, English for Great Britain and the United States, French for France, Belgium, Switzerland, etc., there could also be an important saving of cost in dividing up between the two or three markets concerned the outlay required for the typesetting. Under such a system, the authors securing world-wide circulation would receive, as they would be entitled to receive, a compensation representative of the extent of the service rendered by them to great circles of readers, while the student or reader of the book would secure at a very much lower price than would have been possible for a book the entire cost of which had been debited to one national market, the best material on its subject-matter, with the best illustrations that were available.

In connection with one difficulty or another, these larger schemes for international undertakings have never been adequately carried out. A publication of this character, the *International Science Series*, was produced by the Appletons under the initiative of that able scientist, Dr. E. L. Youmans. Later, we ourselves brought into print, and have still in course of publication, *Putnam's Science Series*, which, in like manner, secures contributors in whatever country the best men may be found.

The Putnams have also published under such international arrangements, the *Story of the Nations Series*, which now aggregates nearly one hundred volumes, and the *Heroes of the Nations*, with something over seventy volumes. Such series constitute, however, but the beginnings of a system of international publishing which must, I am confident, attain large development in the near future, when the United States has had the common sense

to adopt a consistent copyright law and has brought to a close its ignorant and absurd interference with the attempts of the publishers and booksellers to control the regulations of the book-trade and to bring into publication, for the benefit of readers and students throughout the world, the best material that can be produced by the representative scholars of the world.

Apart from these series, which belong to what the booksellers call heavier literature, I take this opportunity of mentioning two of the most popular of a long series of novelists whose books have been associated with the New York and London imprint of the Putnams.

Myrtle Reed. In 1899, we brought into print a volume entitled *Love Letters of a Musician*, the first of a series of stories by Myrtle Reed, at that time a young literary journalist of Chicago. This was followed from year to year, for a series of twelve years, by other books, many of which were stronger in character and more commanding in interest. Myrtle Reed succeeded in securing an increasing circle of readers not only for the new book of the year, but for the earlier volumes. I know of no author on the Putnam list, or on the lists of other houses, whose early books continued in such steady and increasing demand. Myrtle Reed's stories were written with a real literary standard and with great evenness of literary quality. She never scamped her work. Her characterization was good and her sense of humour keen. It is probable, however, that it was the sentiment in the books—a wholesome sentiment by the way, not to be confused with made-up or tawdry sentimentality—that made the largest appeal to her great circle of readers. *Lavender and Old Lace*, the seventh book in the series, was the most successful, and doubtless deservedly so, but the volumes reached in all some millions of readers. Myrtle died young, not having reached her thirty-eighth year. If life had been

spared to her, she ought, with her conscientious industry, her grace of imagination and keen sense of humour, to have produced work of steadily increasing importance. The last two years of her life had been clouded by invalidism and by some special family troubles, but up to the last month she maintained a full cheeriness, and her letters to her publisher gave no indication that the final break-down was at hand. We never had an author, and I never knew of an author, whose relations with her publishers were more absolutely satisfactory. As the business continued from year to year, the friendly relation became closer. She got into the habit of addressing her senior publisher as "My dear Patron Saint." She amused herself with so shaping her annual novel that the manuscript, in readiness for the printer, should be placed on his desk on the anniversary of his birth. During the last three years of her life, she took pains to send from Chicago for the same date not only the manuscript, but a group of American beauties, as many roses as there were years in the life of the publisher. He was no longer a young man, and the number of roses was so considerable that they caused the publisher's study to blossom like a bower.

It was Myrtle's practice, having once completed her agreement, to leave all further business details in the hands of the publishers. It was her belief (in which she showed her wisdom) that the publisher was in a better position than the author could be to decide in regard to the form of presentation, the shaping of special editions, plans for serializing, etc. It was her routine whenever the publisher had submitted a recommendation, to say, "If you think this is best, it must be the right thing to do." She realized that the interest of the publisher in the continuing and developing success of the books was the same as her own, and she permitted herself to waste no part of her all-valuable vital creative force in worrying over the methods

or details of the work carried on by her business agent. At the time of her death, she was receiving from her publishers large and increasing annual payments, the returns coming, as said, not only from the book of the season, but from a continued sale of the earlier volumes. After her death, her mother, herself a woman of literary attainments and scholarship, was able to make up two volumes of articles that had been contributed by Myrtle at different times to magazines, and the control of which the editors of the magazines were courteous enough to transfer to Mrs. Reed. The set of Myrtle's works is now complete, and her books still find thousands of readers on both sides of the Atlantic and in far-off Australia.

Florence L. Barclay. The Putnams were also fortunate in securing for their list a series of popular novels from the pen of a capable English writer, Florence L. Barclay. Mrs. Barclay was brought into the office in 1909 by her sister Mrs. Ballington Booth, for whom we had already published two or three charming and successful juveniles. *The Rosary* was practically the author's first book,—it was at least the first in which she herself felt any measure of confidence. It made its way slowly during the first year, but increasingly as the years went on, until it had reached a great many thousand readers. It came to be succeeded by other books which gave pleasure, and something which her readers described as more important than pleasure, although possibly no one of these later books possesses quite the distinctive character and originality of *The Rosary*. *The Mistress of Shenstone* has been considered the strongest of the books that followed. Mrs. Barclay was already in middle life when she discovered that she knew how to appeal to the interests of hundreds of thousands of readers, but there is no reason why her creative power should not continue for years to come. At the time of Myrtle Reed's death, it was difficult to decide

between the relative popularity of the American and the English author, but Mrs. Barclay, with the advantage of continued creative vitality, must now be reaching larger circles of readers than those which secured satisfaction from the books of Myrtle Reed. Her books also have secured appreciation largely on the ground of their sentiment, but they contain a larger measure of religious purpose than had found place in Myrtle Reed's romances. Mrs. Barclay is certainly entitled to rank with the most popular authors of her generation, and she may have the satisfaction of feeling that her popularity has been secured for books that are sane, sound, and wholesome in purpose and in character.

Norman Angell. An author whose work, partly on the ground of the originality of its purpose and character, and partly because it happened to be applicable to world's problems that had become strenuous, came into relations with G. P. Putnam's Sons in 1911. I refer to Ralph Lane, better known under his pen name of Norman Angell, whose *Great Illusion* was published in 1910 in London by Heinemann and in New York by the Putnams. The purpose of the *Great Illusion* was to point out that war could in no way be made profitable even to the victorious party. Angell did not undertake to tell the world that on this ground wars would become impossible. He realized that men were unreasonable beings and that in the future, as in the past, wars will be waged on unreasonable grounds, that is to say, for a purpose which can bring no possible advantage even to the victor.

The work has had a deserved influence in emphasizing for students, and even for the general public not heretofore well informed in regard to financial matters, the increasing complexities of the financial relations between nations. Angell points out in one famous passage in his *Great Illusion* that if it might prove possible for a German army

to make successful invasion of England and, in capturing London, to close the business of the Bank of England, every German banker would in the course of the next few weeks be brought into bankruptcy. Angell's book has raised the same kind of illuminating controversy that followed the publication thirty years ago of George's *Progress and Poverty*. It will undoubtedly for years to come form the text for discussion and the suggestion for a more intelligent understanding of international relations and interests.

James M. Beck. The year 1914, which marked the beginning of the European war, brought into publication a great mass of literature, good, bad, and indifferent, which was concerned with the causes of the war, the responsibilities for the war, the methods and management of war operations, and the probable nature of the settlement. The great majority of these books were, of course, ephemeral in character, and while adding to a greater or less extent to the information of the man in the street, they cannot be expected to retain existence in literature. One volume in the series stands out, however, head and shoulders above the other books brought into existence as a result of war conditions. Mr. James M. Beck, a leader of the New York Bar, brought into print in the fall of 1914, in the *New York Times*, an article entitled "The Evidence in the Case," which was a study of the events that had brought about the war and of the relative responsibility of the different combatants. Mr. Beck's article showed a comprehensive grasp of the subject-matter and presented an illuminating and incisive analysis of the great series of diplomatic papers which in part at least had not been prepared with the intent to present the full truth. On reading the article it seemed to me that, as well for the information of the reading public on both sides of the Atlantic as on ordinary business grounds, it ought to be developed into a book.

We took pains to come into prompt relations with Mr. Beck, and the result was the production of a book issued under the same general title, *The Evidence in the Case*, which, in whole or in part, has been reprinted in practically all of the European languages and which must have had a very large influence in the shaping of public opinion throughout the world. Mr. Beck sums up, as if he were a judge in the court of last resort, the respective responsibilities of the combatants, and his judgment weighs heavily against Prussianized Germany and its ally Austria. Long after this war has passed, Mr. Beck's scholarly treatise will remain one of the authoritative documents that has made a place for itself in the world's literature.

Anna Fuller. During a winter's sojourn in Colorado Springs, description of which is given in an earlier chapter, I found Ellen Frothingham, sister of my friend Octavius Frothingham, in residence with two friends. Miss Frothingham had inherited the literary interests and scholarly ability of the family. Her translation of Lessing's *Nathan the Wise* had been accepted as the best of the several English versions. One of the friends who was with her during the winter in question was Anna Fuller, a clever young New Englander who was beginning to make a reputation with her pen. It was my fortune in meeting Miss Fuller to engage for the Putnam list an author of distinction and also to begin a relation of friendship the appreciation of the value of which has increased as the years have rolled on.

Miss Fuller was at the time contributing to a weekly paper in New York a series of articles called *Pratt Portraits*. In reading one or two of these papers, I became impressed not only with the charm of the literary style and the distinctiveness of the humour, but with the value for the social history of the time of the studies of New England character. My suggestion that the papers should

be republished in book form was received with favour, and in the course of a few months, my firm had the opportunity of bringing into print the *Pratt Portraits*. The volume secured an immediate acceptance from the authoritative critics and from the large circle of readers who have always been ready to interest themselves in realistic character studies of New England life. Some years later, we published a second series of *Pratt Portraits*, in which the record of the careers of the various members of the Pratt family were continued through a later generation. The *Pratt Portraits* was followed by the *Literary Courtship*, the *Venetian June*, and other volumes, each characterized by the same delicacy of insight, grace of literary form, and charming humour. Miss Fuller has made a place for herself among American writers of distinction and has created characters that live in the memory of the reader.

Guglielmo Ferrero. In 1907, I had the opportunity of meeting in London an Italian historian who had recently brought to a successful close a course of lectures in Paris on the History of Rome during the period of the first Cæsars. Guglielmo Ferrero was a native of Turin, where his literary work had in the main been carried on. He had been called upon, however, for lectures in Rome and elsewhere, and through the invitation from the University of Paris, his work had become known throughout Europe. I arranged with the London publisher William Heinemann, with whom we were from time to time dividing publishing undertakings, for the production of an English version of Ferrero's Roman History that he was then bringing to completion, and this history, and the volumes that succeeded, have secured in the English version increasing circles of readers on both sides of the Atlantic. Ferrero has come under criticism from certain of the historical authorities. His historical work, while based upon

assured scholarship, is picturesque and dramatic and has some of the same qualities for holding the attention of the reader, or for making the study easy for the student, that are found in the volumes of Macaulay and of Froude. A historian whose work has literary attractiveness and dramatic force always comes into question with the class of critics who are disposed to take the ground that the authority of scholarship is weakened if the results are presented in such manner as to be found attractive by the reader. Sometimes, of course, there is ground for criticism. The writer who has imagination and power of expression is tempted to permit himself to complete historical narratives for which authentic material may be lacking. Macaulay and Froude have both come under criticism on the ground of inaccuracy, or of imagining so-called "facts" by means of which to support preconceived theories. The criticism of Ferrero's brilliant history is somewhat different. As far as I understand the matter, it is not claimed that anything that he has written is contrary to the accepted historical facts. He is charged, however, with yielding to the temptation of making his pictures complete and artistic by filling up gaps for which there are no authenticated data. There can be no question, however, of the service rendered by historians who make their volumes available for great circles of readers. The popularization of history, provided, as said, the work be based upon a full knowledge of the period to be considered and of the material available, is in itself a gain for popular education as well as for literature.

The historian and his talented wife, a daughter of the scientist Lombroso, were my guests in New York some years later, when he was filling a series of engagements for lectures. They went from my home to the White House, President Roosevelt having found himself keenly interested in Ferrero's work.

Some Literary Undertakings of my Own. As the foregoing chapters have indicated, I have during the fifty years since the war found my days fairly full of interests and occupations of one kind or another. I have been interested, however, in bringing into print the results of researches in certain subjects which had engaged my attention. In 1893, I published, under the title of *Authors and Their Public in Ancient Times*, a little volume which was based mainly on the labours of some learned Germans, the results of whose work had been presented in most unreadable form. I was interested in indicating what facilities the authors of classical days possessed for the production and distribution of their books, and for coming into relations with their readers. The volume was fragmentary enough and contained at best but second-hand scholarship, but it was at the time I believe the only book in English which had gone over the ground at all, and it may, therefore, possess some continued value.

Later, after the International Copyright Bill had secured enactment, I was interested in preparing a record of the long contest, if only for the purpose of recording the early efforts of my father and associates without which our later work would have been very much more difficult. In 1896, I added a study of *Books and Their Makers in the Middle Ages*. I had secured the impression that the work done by the publishers, first in securing recognition for literary property, and, secondly, for furthering higher education, had failed to receive full recognition. The *Books and Their Makers* constitutes, therefore, a record of the work done by publishers, first, in the manuscript period, secondly, at the time of the early printers, and later, when, at the instance of the publishers, the first attempts were made to secure a property recognition for authorship. In investigating the history of publishing undertakings, I found that at various times during the

fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, the heavy hand of the Church had interfered with the production and the distribution of literature. I decided that if eyesight and time should be spared to me, I would attempt to trace the extent of this interference and to ascertain how far the system established by the Church for the censorship of books, with its two sets of Indexes, Prohibitory and Expurgatory, and the practice occasionally indulged in in Spain and elsewhere of burning authors and publishers, or of otherwise hampering their operations, had succeeded in checking the production and the distribution of books. The *History of the Censorship of the Church*, published in 1907, continues to be the only work in English covering the ground and it is, therefore, both the best and the worst book on its subject. It presents a record of the Indexes from that of Louvain in 1546 to that of Leo XIII. in 1900. There seems to be fair probability that the Church has given up the policy of publishing general Indexes, and my volumes may have value as presenting in convenient form for reference a complete list of the attempts made by the Church to check by a system of Indexes the reading of heretical books. In these volumes I presented the conclusion that the Church, while giving serious annoyance to publishers in certain communities, particularly in Spain, had been able to render very material service to publishers in a country like Holland, which had been wise enough to keep itself free from the censorship. I pointed out that the Holland publishers had used the Church censors as their literary advisers and had followed the practice of bringing promptly into print at The Hague or at Amsterdam the books that had been condemned by Madrid or Rome. The fact that during the centuries in question the literary language of Europe was Latin made the undertakings of these publishers of course very much simpler to carry out.

In 1909, I brought into print, mainly for the information of my nephews, who were, I found, growing up in shameful ignorance of the main events of the Civil War, a biographical study of Lincoln, which included an account of the anti-slavery contest and of the leadership of Lincoln in the great struggle for the maintenance of the Republic. This book has had a fair demand with reading circles and in certain other channels. The only volume, however, for which I can report a really popular success is a reprint made a few years ago of a frivolity that I had put into shape nearly forty years back under the title of *The Gingerbread Man.* This fantasy, for which our illustration department secured the service of a very clever artist, has had the good fortune to meet the interests of successive generations of youngsters, and it is possibly by this little volume that I shall be known to the largest circles of readers.

CHAPTER XVII

Abram S. Hewitt and Other Friends

Abram S. Hewitt and the Mortar Beds. Sometime in the nineties, I had the privilege of being a guest of Abram S. Hewitt at his country home at Greenwood Lake, New Jersey. Mr. Hewitt had been an old-time friend of my father's, and I had known him since boyhood, but this was the first opportunity I had had of being with him on his piazza when he was, for the moment at least, free from responsibilities, political, business, or social. Mr. Hewitt was through his life a distinguished and distinctive citizen who rendered a full measure of service to his city and to the whole country. He was reported to have said once that if it had not been for his irritable temper (he used in fact a stronger term) he might have been President of the United States. He certainly was recognized as one of the two or three ablest men in the leadership of the Democratic party, and he had many of the qualifications that go to make an effective President.

As I walked up the slope to the piazza of his unpretentious but very comfortable home, I passed, placed on the upper slope of the lawn in such manner that it overlooked the valley and the little lake below, a mortar. The mortar was in position on its mortar bed as if ready for action, and coiled in front of the gun was a section of an enormous chain rusted with age. I naturally demanded of

my host the story of chain and mortar. "Well," he said, "Putnam, you have some family interest in that chain. It was forged here in the works in Ringwood in 1776 or thereabouts under the instructions of your great-uncle Israel. General Putnam had the idea that by means of that chain, stretched across from West Point to Constitution Island, he could block the channel and the river, or at least could so delay the passage up the river of the *Vulture* and other British sloops, that they could be pounded effectively by the batteries from the point. You will doubtless remember, as you are familiar with the history, that the chain did not prove a success. It was weakened by the pressure of the current and the *Vulture* and her associates succeeded in breaking through it and making their way up the river. A year or two back, I learned that this chain was, under the instructions of the commandant of West Point, to be sold at auction with other "superfluous material." I went up to the Point and, for no very great sum, purchased the chain and then had an interview with the commandant. I pointed out to him that a historic relic of this character ought not to pass out of the possession of the government. It belonged to the history of West Point. After a little consideration, he was disposed to agree with me and admitted that the chain had been included hastily with stuff which was really rubbish and which they had to dispose of. The matter was finally adjusted by my turning over to the Military Academy the larger portion of the chain, but I reserved the right in my transfer of retaining a few fathoms as an adornment for my lawn." The mortar and the mortar bed, he said, were given to him by President Lincoln. "Well," I replied, "you cannot end the story there. You have got to tell me why Lincoln thought that you had any particular claim to any property belonging to the ordnance department of the United States." "For the mortar, I had no claim," said Hewitt, "that was

a gift pure and simple; but the mortar bed had been made in my own works and under my personal directions, and in connection with the mortar bed, Lincoln took the ground that the country was under some obligations to me."

The making of the mortar beds went back to the fall of 1861 when General Grant was preparing at Cairo the expedition for the capture of Fort Henry and Fort Donelson. Grant had reported to the President that the earthworks of the two forts were probably too strong to be overcome by any field artillery that he had available, and that this was certainly the case with the works protecting Donelson. He had, therefore, made application for some mortars which, placed on schooners in the river below, could be utilized to throw shells into the works. Lincoln had in due course referred Grant's requisition to the ordnance department and had received report from the chief of ordnance that they had a small supply of mortars but that these were unavailable because there were in existence no mortar beds, or at least but one single bed. My untechnical readers will understand that a mortar or howitzer is a short heavy piece of ordnance, the shot from which is fired at an angle often as great as forty-five degrees. The recoil from a gun so placed is very considerable. It is sufficient to shatter a masonry or earthwork foundation, while it would break through almost any deck on which it was placed, and if the vessel was of moderate size, as, for instance, a schooner, it could easily be sent to the bottom. The mortar bed is a platform made up of steel and woodwork so interlaced as to give with strength great elasticity. The recoil of the gun is absorbed into the mortar bed which serves to protect the foundation on which the bed itself rests. The ordnance department reported to Lincoln that it would take two to three months' time to make thirty mortar beds. Grant's expedition was nearly in readiness and any such delay would probably

have been fatal to the main purpose of the undertaking. Lincoln had carried in his retentive memory the name of Abram S. Hewitt, who had been introduced to him, as the President was on his way through from New York, with the description, "Here, Mr. President, is a man whom you ought to know, Abram S. Hewitt, an iron merchant, a man who does things."

The thought came to Lincoln's mind that an "iron merchant who was capable of doing things" might be able to meet the present very urgent requirement. He sent a telegram to Hewitt asking how long it would take him to make thirty mortar beds? The message reached Hewitt on Saturday evening at the house of a friend with whom he was dining. He acknowledged it at once, promising to send a specific word on the following day, Sunday. He then left his dinner party and routed out the United States ordnance chief at the headquarters, which was probably then in Greene Street. Showing the Colonel the President's telegram, he made requirement that the sample mortar bed, which was, as he learned, stored at Springfield, Massachusetts, should be sent down by special train to reach the New London boat so that it could be delivered in New York Sunday morning. The Colonel appreciated the urgency of the matter; the order was given, and the boat was held until the train reached New London. Hewitt was at the wharf with his manager and his drays at an early hour Sunday morning, and the mortar bed was carted over to the works. Hewitt had never seen a mortar bed and until the arrival of the President's telegram had, as he told me, not even known that such a thing belonged to the equipment of the ordnance department. By noon on the Sunday, Hewitt was able, however, to wire to the President that he would make thirty mortar beds in thirty days, and promptly by wire came the word from the President, "go ahead." The best force of the

establishment was concentrated upon the job and Hewitt and his two foremen were supervising the operations day and night. Hewitt told me that it did not seem to him to be equitable to make any profit out of the government on an emergency order. He charged up simply the cost of the material and the cost of the labourers paid by the day, and he threw in his own service and that of the two foremen. The bill was, therefore, what in manufacturing circles is called "flat," that is to say it carried no profit. In this case there was not only no profit, but the actual loss of the value of the time of skilled managers.

Fortunately for the country, Thomas Scott had been willing to resign a large salary as President of the Pennsylvania Railroad and to accept for a compensation of six or eight thousand dollars a year the post of supervisor of military transportation. That post was well filled from the outset and rendered first-class service during all the years of the war. Scott had had early advice that these military beds were in preparation and on the twenty-eighth day, when Hewitt reported to Washington that the thirty beds were in readiness, Scott had thirty flat cars prepared for the purpose, backed up into Hewitt's yards on the Hudson River. Each car was painted black and carried in white letters the address and caution:

U. S. Grant, Cairo. Not to be switched under penalty of death.

"That train," said Hewitt, "got through without delay as Scott intended it should, and as there had been delays with other portions of the equipment, it reached Cairo not so very late." The Rebels decided to evacuate Fort Henry with a "mere show of a fight," but as Grant had anticipated, Fort Donelson presented a more troublesome problem. General Floyd and General Buckner had within

the works thirty thousand men, very nearly the same force that Grant had available outside. The month was January, and the weather was bitter. It was difficult to break the ground for field entrenchments and the cold was a serious hindrance to the sleeping of the troops in the open. As Grant had feared, the light field guns that he had available were ineffective against the earthworks and two assaults of the infantry had been repulsed. Then there came up the river three vessels of the schooner fleet, and when the first shell thrown from the deck of the advance schooner had dropped into the inner circle of the works, General Buckner, a trained and skilled soldier, reported to his civilian commander, General Floyd, that the place was untenable and would have to be evacuated. Grant's army was not strong enough to hem in the works entirely, and while no large force could get out, it was, it seems, not possible to prevent the escape of individual stragglers. General Floyd, who had been Secretary of War in Buchanan's Cabinet, and whose accounts had come into very serious question, said in substance to Buckner: "My relations with the Yankees are somewhat peculiar, and I think I had better get out now and leave you to surrender the fort." Get out he did with a few other "stragglers," and perhaps it was as well that he did not remain to be taken a prisoner. Irrespective of the charge of treason (and he had while Secretary of War taken pains to empty the Northern arsenals and to give counsel and aid to the troops that were being equipped in the South), he would have been subject to trial for misappropriation of funds.

After some little parley, Buckner accepted the "unconditional surrender" terms of his old West Point chum, General Grant, and Grant's initials thereafter were confirmed as "U. S." which the boys in the ranks interpreted either as "Uncle Sam" or as "Unconditional Surrender," as they happened to remember their history.

Hewitt's energy and skill in getting the mortar beds into readiness had helped to bring to the North its first decisive victory.

"Twelve months later," said Hewitt, "I was in Washington and bearing in mind that the President, in his letter of appreciation about the work done by the mortars, had asked me not to fail to see him, I called at the White House." It was already late in the morning, and the aid in charge, pointing to the full room, said, "Mr. Hewitt, we ought not to detain you, the President has got to go shortly to a Cabinet meeting and there are a number of people here who have been waiting for some time." "Well," said Hewitt, "just take in my card so that the President can know that I have been here to pay my respects and I will not remain." The card went in and just as Hewitt was going to the exit of the reception room, the door of the President's office was thrown open and Mr. Lincoln came forward holding out both hands. "Where is Mr. Hewitt? I must see Mr. Hewitt, the man who does things." Hewitt was dragged into the office and Lincoln insisted, irrespective of waiting petitioners or Cabinet meetings, in having a personal talk with him. The President finally asked, "I suppose you have some business in Washington, Mr. Hewitt; what can I do to facilitate it?" "Well, Mr. President," said Hewitt, "I have some business: I came to get my money for those mortar beds." "What," said the President, "you have not been paid for that work! You, a man who has rendered such exceptional service to the country! It is disgraceful!" The bell was rung and the first aid within reach was sent to call Mr. Stanton, the Secretary of War. "How is it, Mr. Secretary," said Lincoln, as Stanton came in, "that this bill of Mr. Hewitt for work completed twelve months back has failed to receive attention? A great service has been rendered and the country ought not to permit itself to remain the debtor

in money of the man who came to its aid." "Well, you see, Mr. President," said the Secretary, "there was something irregular in the form in which the order for these mortar beds was given and the ordnance department has not seen its way clear to pass through the bill for payment." Lincoln thought a moment, and then said: "Do you suppose, Mr. Stanton, that if I wrote at the bottom of the bill, 'Pay this bill *now*,' the treasury department would be ready to give Mr. Hewitt his money?" Stanton shrugged his shoulders as if to say there was no knowing what irregular proceedings the treasury department might be willing to sanction; but the bill was sent for and in the presence of Hewitt and Stanton, the President wrote beneath it, "Pay this bill now. A. Lincoln." "Now, Mr. Stanton," said Lincoln, "Mr. Hewitt has been badly treated and we must do what we can to make amends. I want you to take a little special pains in the matter. I want you to go over with him to the treasury department and with this bill in your hands to see if the draft on the New York subtreasury cannot be secured so that Mr. Hewitt can get back to New York tonight."

"Stanton," said Hewitt, "gave some kind of a growl which the President interpreted as an assent," and marched off, in rather a bad temper, with Hewitt as his companion. The bill was taken by the two to the treasury department and went through the long series of desks to be viséd first by one auditing or recording clerk and then by another until it reached the warrant desk where the draft on the New York subtreasury was drawn. Mr. Hewitt said, "As I pocketed that draft (the amount was for thirty thousand dollars) I wished that it might be possible for me to give back a portion, a thousand dollars or more, if by so doing I could get possession of that voucher with Mr. Lincoln's subscription, 'Pay this bill now. A. Lincoln.'

"When the war was nearly at a close and there was no

more requirement for the use of mortars or of mortar beds, I wrote to the President asking if I might be permitted to purchase a mortar with its bed as a remembrance of work done by me for the ordnance department. A week or two later, I had advice from the White House that the mortar and its accompanying bed were on their way to me and that they were to be accepted as a gift from the United States in recognition of service rendered. How the accounts of the treasury department for these particular items were ever adjusted," said Hewitt, "I do not know. Mr. Lincoln must at times have been something of an *enfant terrible* to the trained army men who followed the routine, and who knew the value, of red tape."

Paris, 1867–1870. In 1867, I had the opportunity of making a brief sojourn in Paris. My sister, the Doctor, had gone to Paris immediately after the close of the Civil War, and having secured admission to L'École de Médicine of the University (being the first woman to whom the privilege was accorded), was carrying on a course of studies which continued in all for six years. She was at that time domesticated in the family circle of the Réclus brothers, Élisée and Élie, who with their wives kept ménage together in an economical but comfortable fashion. The Frenchman, and possibly the Latin generally, seems to find less difficulty in getting along harmoniously with his kin, whether natural or "at-law," than is the case with the Briton, or with his American cousin. At all events, these brothers and the two sisters-in-law made together a very harmonious and attractive home into which my sister was fortunate in securing admission.

In 1867, Paris was fairly gay. The exhibition was in progress and had attracted to the capital a good part of the "world and his wife." The country was, however, beginning to feel the burdens of the increased taxes which had been caused by the ill-fated Mexican expedition of

1861–62. There was a pretty strong, and as it proved an increasing, opposition to the Empire, which some of the critics did not hesitate to call a "sham Empire."

The three wars, which were inititated in large part at least for the purpose of strengthening the foundations of the government and of adding to the glory of France through diverting the causes of discontent, had evidently not been fully successful. It is my memory, recalling the newspapers of the day, that the censorship of the press was in 1867 not very rigorously enforced. The radical journals certainly contained a full measure of criticism of the extravagance of the Empire and of the lack of proper consideration for the rights of the people. My friends, the Réclus, were active members of one or more of the radical societies and they were looking forward to the end of the Empire in the near future, whether by revolution or otherwise. Of the Prussian peril, which took shape three years later, there was at that time no apprehension. In any case, Paris was sunshiny and gay, the Empress was beautiful, and the Emperor, while already looking ill and careworn, was apparently master of the situation.

Three years later, I was again in Paris and this time it was just at the opening of the war with Prussia. The radical opponents of the war had been outvoted and for the time at least radical opposition appeared to have been crushed or merged into the feeling of national patriotism that comes to the front (and that ought always to come to the front) when the country is at war. I saw in July, marching down the Boulevard de Sebastopol, groups of students, including not a few who a few weeks earlier had been active in the leadership of the anti-imperial clubs, shouting "à Berlin." There was enthusiasm enough, but it did not rest upon a basis of solid support for the government. The poor youngsters, who took up arms promptly enough, never got to Berlin excepting as prisoners, and

many of them never got back at all to their university halls. One of the most tragic pieces of modern French literature is, I think, the story by Daudet, *The Siege of Berlin*, in which the old veteran of the early Napoleonic wars, bed-ridden but active-minded, has, for the sake of saving his life, been told by his daughter that the French army was making constant progress across the German territory. The veteran, who knew the necessary line of attack, would correct the statement of some impossible movement, but did not fail to accept the general record as correct; and then when, after the surrender of Paris, the bugle announces the advance through the Champs-Élysées of the advance guard of the conquering Prussian army, the veteran arouses himself by an almost impossible effort to greet those whom he believes to be the triumphant French troops on their return from the capture of Berlin. As his eye catches not the tri-colour, but the black and white standard of Prussia, the awful disillusion comes upon him and crushes out his life. So was France under the leadership of its sham Empire crushed and disillusioned. But today it is a united, a stronger, and a braver France that is fighting to preserve its national independence, to fulfil its obligations to Belgium, and to prevent the breaking up of the British Empire. It is France first among the allies that stands in the way of the covering of the map with the black domination of the Prussian Hohenzollern. It was chiefly due to the persistence of England that in the first years of the nineteenth century Europe was saved from the domination of Napoleon. The credit will in the main, I think, be due to France when at the close of the present war, the dream of William of Berlin for the establishment of a Hohenzollern Empire shall have been shattered.

Some Australian Friends. I have had the opportunity, during visits in London extending over half a century, of

meeting from time to time returned Australians, or Australians who were in London for a visit. I have nearly always found myself drawn towards them with a feeling of natural kinship. There is something about an Australian which, other things being equal, makes him rather nearer to an American than is the average Englishman. He seems to secure in the wide stretches of his physical domain a wider point of view. He is less likely to be hampered by local shackles or restricted in his method of thought or of action by local traditions. He finds it easier also to take in the point of view of the other fellow, so that conversation with Australians (I am speaking of men whom one meets hurriedly and well in advance of any intimacy of relations) may often be easier than with the average Englishman met for the first time. One of my nearest friends in England is an English-Australian whom I will describe here simply as W. H. It is not fair to a man who is not in public life to bring him into a printed record simply because he is a good fellow. W. H. took a venture in Australia in his earlier years, and in returning with a competency, settled down to business in London with an attractive home in a suburb. He did not have time for a college training, but with a natural curiosity and large intellectual ambitions, he has read largely and intelligently, and is on many subjects a very well-informed man. A Liberal in English politics, he is able to understand the point of view, and sometimes even to sympathize with the point of view, of the Conservative. With no direct knowledge of affairs in the States, he has a quickness of apprehension of American problems and difficulties such as would rarely be possessed by an Englishman who had not visited the country. He is a loyal friend, not merely in the larger duties but in the closer sympathies which go to make up the happiness of life's associations. My sojourns in H.'s Surrey home have constituted a most

attractive phase of my English experiences, and I take this opportunity of expressing to him (even if the word will be recognized only by himself) my cordial and affectionate appreciation for the companionship with which he has honoured me and for a series of friendly services for which I am indebted.

A Diplomat of France. I had the opportunity while in London in the early eighties of coming to know a clever young attaché of the French Embassy, who shortly thereafter became Secretary of Legation, J. J. Jusserand. The years have rolled on, and as a result of his diplomatic skill and capable service, increasing honours and dignities have come to my friend, but he is still for me the charming vivacious youngster with whom thirty-odd years ago I had discussed, from the point of view of two more or less critical outsiders, ways and things English. Jusserand could be, and was, frankly critical of many things English, but he was and is devoted to England. He has a better knowledge of English literature than is possessed perhaps by any English scholar, and he connects with his knowledge an illumination of view and graceful charm of analysis and of expression which are not easily to be found in studies by Englishmen of English literature. Jusserand has made himself an authority on the subject of the literature of England, and particularly on Elizabethan literature. My firm has been well pleased to have charge of the American editions of his authoritative volumes. He possesses the thoroughness and the power of specialization of the German, but the results of his comprehensive studies, are presented with a sense of humour, a grace of touch, and a dramatic picturesqueness that are not to be found in German literature.

After a long series of years,—I think seventeen in all,—passed in London, he was promoted to service on the Quai d'Orsay, and thence to the Legation in Copenhagen. Some

years back, by a most fortunate exercise of good judgment on the part of the authorities of the Quai d'Orsay, Jusserand was passed on from Denmark to be Ambassador of the French Republic at Washington. One may say without question that he is the most successful Ambassador that France, whether as a monarchy, an empire, or a republic, has ever sent to the United States. With a good working knowledge of our literature and institutions, with a quick sympathetic apprehension which enables him to take in things not already known, and with a charm of manner and a sympathetic nature that makes and holds on to friends, he has steadily increased the circle of Americans who hold him in affectionate regard. His success has been added to, although no assistance was necessary, by the charming effectiveness of Madame Jusserand. No Ambassador can be thoroughly successful unless he has with him the right kind of an Ambassadress. Madame Jusserand, with two mother tongues, with a truly Parisian grace in the management of a social circle, with a sympathetic knowledge of American conditions,—her father was a successful American banker in Paris,—and with a quick insight into character and capacity for analyzing people that enables her to recognize the characteristics of those with whom she has to do, and which gives her the power to treat each person in the most effective way possible, is in my impression easily the most successful hostess since the time of Dolly Madison in the management of the formal responsibilities and the social graces of a Washington salon. My friend the Ambassador, has not only a working knowledge of English, but he has the capacity of being eloquent in the acquired tongue. An occasional quaintness in the selection of words merely adds to the effectiveness of the expression, and his addresses, whether the subject be historical, or biographical, or social, are all illuminated by that saving

grace of humour, which makes life worth while for the possessor and which helps to alleviate the botherations of the lives of the other fellows. Those of us who are fond of Jusserand look forward with dread to the time when there will come to him the highest honour in the French diplomatic service, the post of Ambassador to the Court of St. James. For this post, he is undoubtedly the best prepared diplomat in France, and it is my hope that by the time the appointment comes to him, France and England may be deciding together with their allies on the readjustment of Europe, with reference to principles of justice and to the recognition of the rights of the smaller states and of the peoples in such fashion as shall bring to an end the black cloud of militarism and shall assure for Europe a continuing peace. In any European conference representing the best minds among European diplomats, my friend Jusserand must hold a high place.

The Century Club. I am writing the closing lines of these reminiscences in the library of the Century Club, an Association which, second only to my family circle, I have for nearly forty years regarded as a home. It is in these rooms that I secure the companionship of my nearest and most valued friends, and it is here also that all Centurions treasure the memories of the associates of earlier years who have passed to the great beyond.

My father was one of the early members of the Club, and through his influence I was fortunate enough to be accepted into membership shortly after the close of the Civil War, and while I was still a youngster. The Club was disposed at that time to be hospitable to us young veterans and to extend to us the privilege of membership not on the ground of any prestige already secured, but with a friendly hope concerning the possible value of the things we might be able to accomplish in the years to come.

No Centurion would undertake to record in print his

opinion of the character and of the value to himself of the Century Club. One would as soon think of analyzing the traits and qualities of the members of his own family circle. I may, however, venture the opinion that there is no club on either side of the Atlantic, the associations of which mean so much for its members. We have not only the privilege of the companionship of the men who are with us today, but the influence of the memories of the lives and the characters of those who left us yesterday, or on some yesterday in the past.

One recalls the personalities and the careers of the distinguished citizens who have presided over the Club as Presidents,—Verplanck, Bancroft, Huntington, Bryant, Bigelow, and our own Choate; and with hardly less interest men such as Macdonough, Howland, Cary, and Taylor who have as secretaries rendered such noteworthy service to the Club, and who among their other duties have had the task of presenting from year to year the memorials and estimates of the Centurions who have passed away during the preceding twelve months. To attempt to recall the names of the great citizens who have been grouped with the Centurions would be like naming the brave men who lived before and since Agamemnon. It would necessitate the reprinting in substance the lists from the Club books.

One feature which has always impressed me of life in the Century as compared with my experience of the methods of other clubs on either side of the Atlantic is the fact that while the society of the Club is always dignified (and how could it be otherwise, bearing in mind the character of its members), it is never formal. The relation, particularly among the older members, is that of sympathetic companionship. It is as if they belonged to a club family. While there is always freedom of utterance, there is the utmost consideration for the feelings and prejudices of the other fellow. A distinctive feature of the

Century is what I should call the hospitality of the group. Any person is always welcome to join a group of Centurions which has under discussion some subject, grave or gay, and if by chance the newcomer has not before met every member of the group as then made up, pains are promptly taken to bring about the personal relation. It is the Century theory that the group, whether it is to exist for five minutes or for an hour, is, or ought to be, a social unit so made up that each factor may be in a position to receive and to contribute to the interest and pleasure of the whole. This practice of a prompt introduction which brings about a personal relation, however momentary, is, I find, a source of constant surprise to my English friends when I have the opportunity of introducing one of these to the Century rooms. The Englishman recognizes, however, promptly enough that under our method we secure a social atmosphere and a harmonious social relation and utterance, and even sometimes an expression of the larger thought, such as is not possible, or as is very rarely possible, if the group includes men some of whom have not been brought into personal relation with each other.

The comparative failure of social relations in London clubs (and I may say in the English receptions and gatherings generally) is largely due to the lack of thoughtful consideration on the part of host, hostess, and guests in this matter of bringing people into sympathetic touch with each other.

It is a truism to point out how valuable it is to men to have some place of gathering where they may meet other men outside of fixed relations, business, political, or official. Next to affection, friendship is, I hold, the most valuable factor in life. It does more than anything else to soften the rough places, to lessen the impress of the daily cares, to instil and develop a larger regard for one's fellow-men, and to bring one to the conclusion that, not-

withstanding all the inevitable disappointments and botherations, life is worth living.

I may not here name the men in the Century whose sympathetic relations have during the past forty years illumined my own life and helped in more ways than one to develop whatever powers I possess. I simply take this opportunity of expressing my appreciation of what has been done for me and what has been given to me by this group of friends and by the standards and methods of that association of good fellows who make up, and who have always made up, the Century Club.

APPENDIX

The European War

1914–1915

I HAVE thought it desirable to include in this volume a series of letters that I have had occasion to bring into print during the past few months which are concerned with the issues that have arisen in connection with the war in Europe. The events referred to are in their chronology somewhat in advance of the period covered by my narrative, but it seemed to me that this was a convenient place in which to preserve the letters from oblivion. They represent some definite opinions on matters on which Americans and others have during 1914 and 1915 been arriving at conclusions, and I decided that I would leave the series as my contribution to the controversial literature of the day. The letters have to do with matters that are still in controversy. Until the war is completed, we shall not have before us the full series of documents which will make clear its causation and the relative responsibilities of the several combatants. I have, however, found myself in accord with those Americans, comprising as I believe the great bulk of our people, who hold that the war was one of German aggression; that its main purpose was the shaping, under the direction of Prussia, of a great military Empire which should dominate Europe and should also control, as far

as it found such control desirable, the policy of the Western Hemisphere.

During the fifty years in which I have been visiting England, I never read or heard an utterance of an Englishman who wanted anything belonging to Germany. There has been no little dread of German invasion and of German plans for throttling British commerce and for breaking up the British Empire, but as far as I have read the literature of the fifty years and have listened during those years to the utterances of Englishmen, there has been no word of ill-will against Germany. It has been fully recognized that Germany was entitled to the natural development to which its industry, its scientific capacity, and its magnificent powers of organization had so thoroughly entitled it. Visiting Germany from time to time during those same fifty years, I have heard frequently the word that it was time the British Empire was broken up. In the eighteenth century, said the Germans, the direction of Europe was in the hands of France; in the nineteenth century, the dominating influence, mainly on the ground of its control of the seas, was that of Great Britain; and now, the twentieth century properly belongs to Germany. Germany can secure its rightful place in the sun only through the breaking up, or the partial breaking up, of the British Empire. France was to be attacked not because there was any specific hatred of France, but because France stood between Germany and Great Britain. To quote a German utterance, "France was this time to be crushed so thoroughly that never again should she stand in the way of Germany." The appropriation and devastation of Belgium, a country which Prussia had sworn to protect, constituted a mere incident in the general plan, and an incident which, from the German point of view, was of no importance. As German books, published not as romances but in the form of official reports of members of the mili-

tary staff, have made clear, the plan for the breaking up of the British Empire carried with it the intention of securing also a dominating influence in the Western Hemisphere. It was Germany's original intention to pick its quarrel with Great Britain at a time when Great Britain would have no allies available, and if this course (certainly prudent from a military point of view) had been carried out, we may recognize that Great Britain would, without the all-powerful aid of Russia, France, Italy, and plucky little Belgium, have had a very hard time indeed in maintaining its independence. Certain British colonies were to be appropriated on this side of the Atlantic, and these were to be utilized as coaling stations and as bases of attack against coast cities of the United States.

There is no difficulty [says Colonel von Edelsheim] in getting possession of Boston, New York, and Washington. We should not be so foolish as to attack the fortifications in front. The Americans have no army and it is only necessary for us, with the selection of the proper weather, to land forces at Nahant, for instance, for the capture of Boston and at Southampton Beach for taking possession of New York. The two cities would then be held, with the alternative of destruction or of a substantial ransom. Washington would also be occupied, not because it possesses any importance, but simply as a matter of sentiment. When the coast cities have been taken possession of, the Republic would crumble.

The correspondence with Austria brought out from the Italian archives of 1912 make clear that the plans for the war went back of the actual out-break at least two years. The murder of the Archduke constituted simply a convenient incident or pretext for the beginning of operations.

With this understanding of the causation and purposes of the war, and with the belief that the cause of England

and her allies is the cause of civilization, and that it is only through the overthrow of the militarism of the Hohenzollerns that any assured peace can be brought to Europe, I found myself coming into print from time to time in controversy with the, not very large, group of Americans, or German-Americans, who were trying to secure the sympathy of the United States for the fight that was being waged by Germany. At the time this book comes into print, the war may, I trust, have been in substance decided. The letters, written as they were with partial information, will have to stand for themselves. They represent at least honest convictions and they state, as clearly as the writer knew how, what in his judgment should be the attitude and the action of American citizens in this great struggle. Americans look forward, with the end of the war, to securing the influence that belongs to the greatest of neutral states in bringing about a settlement that shall give an assured peace. Such settlement should give the beginnings at least of the organization of a world's federation of states with a Supreme Court at The Hague, and with a world's police force, military and naval, contributed *pro rata* by the several members of the federation, by the aid of which the decisions of the Court can be enforced and peace can be maintained. Such a world's federation is for the present a dream, but the history of the world shows that dreams become ideals and that ideals finally take shape as assured realities. This federation of the world may not come about in my lifetime, but it will come.

August 1, 1915.

The following letters, with the exception of the two otherwise specified, were written by myself. It has not been thought necessary to repeat the signature.

A Better Way for Germany

To the Editor of *The Evening Post:*

Sir: The defenders of Germany have asserted that the present war was undertaken not for purposes of aggression or for the expansion of the Empire, but in order to defend German territory and "the civilization of Europe" against the risk of Slavonic domination. Something in the way of foundation could have been secured for this contention if the German campaign had been started on a different plan, and its first operations had been directed eastward instead of westward.

Suppose, for instance, that in place of hurling the bulk of its magnificent army in fierce onslaught to crush France (and incidentally to desolate Belgium which she had sworn to protect) Germany had placed on its western frontier merely an army of defence, and had utilized the main force of its great fighting machine against Russia. It seems almost certain that her position, from a military point of view, would today have been very much stronger.

In our own Civil War, which was fought through with muzzle-loaders, it was our experience that the army attacking an intrenched, or even a well-selected, position, lost, as a rule, from three to four times more men than were lost by the defending force. Today, with the rapid-firing and far-carrying breech-loaders, and with the much more effective artillery, the advantage for the defenders is enormously increased.

It is probable, therefore, that an army of 500,000 men, placed on the well-fortified western frontier of Germany, would have proved sufficient to withstand any attacking force that France, acting alone, would have been able to bring together.

If France, in connection with her obligations to Russia, and her hope of securing the return of her old provinces, had felt compelled to enter the war, she would have been under the necessity of acting as an aggressor. In this case, she could hardly have counted upon the support of England, while the plucky men of Belgium, who are now fighting for their homes, for liberty, and for life, would not have placed themselves with the enemies of Germany.

Italy, which has denied any obligation to support Germany in a "war of aggression," might have found it difficult to refuse aid to defend from an invader the territory of her old-time ally.

Under such conditions, the Kaiser would have been free to carry out in full and effectively his promise to stand in "shining armour" by the side of Austria (which has certainly been very much in need of larger co-operation), and the task left for Russia might easily have proved too great even for her huge armies.

In entering the war in this fashion, Germany would have saved herself from the acts which have brought upon her the condemnation of public opinion throughout the world. There would have been for her no "necessity" of trampling upon her treaty obligations to protect Belgium and Luxemburg. She would not have felt driven, under the necessity of furthering the cause of "civilization," to destroy universities and cathedrals, to burn towns, and to levy spoliation indemnities. There would also have been no requirement (one might perhaps better say no opportunity) for the annexation of the neutral state which she had agreed to protect—an annexation which will probably prove to be but temporary.

With a war so undertaken, Germany would have had fair claim to the support of public opinion throughout the world; and her good name would have been preserved for the generations upon whom will rest the task of maintaining and developing the Empire.

Louis XIV. and Napoleon could afford to disregard public opinion; but the twentieth century has arrived at a different standard for national conduct; and when the war is over, it will be realized that the world's opinion counts not only for ethics, but for the shaping of the destinies of nations.

NEW YORK, October 2, 1914.

THE MODERN ATTILA

To the Editor of *The Tribune.*

SIR: Fourteen years ago the German Emperor, in addressing his troops, said: "Let all who fall into your hands be at your mercy; gain a reputation like that of the Huns under

Attila." Barbarian that he was, Attila spared Milan; but, acting under imperial instructions such as that above quoted, the generals of the Kaiser have not hesitated to destroy Louvain, the Oxford of Belgium, with its priceless manuscripts of the Middle Ages, or to batter down cathedrals, or to burn undefended towns, or to place crushing assessments on towns in a territory which Germany had sworn to protect and which is now, in form at least, annexed to the German domain.

Yesterday came the report of an appeal to the Prince Imperial by the mother superior of a children's orphan asylum that the building covering her little ones might be spared. The appeal was denied and the ruins of the orphanage make one more monument in the track of the modern Huns.

Today we have the text of the offer made by Kaiser Attila of a prize to the German aeronaut who shall first succeed in dropping bombs into the city of London, a city not at this time under siege.

The German officers make use as an excuse for the burning of undefended communities the crime of "sniping," that is to say, of shooting done by men in citizen's clothes. If it is a crime for a man, not a soldier, to defend his home, his women, and his children, what should be the term applied to the act of the war lord of the German forces in ordering bombs to be thrown upon unarmed citizens?

NEW YORK, Oct. 5, 1914.

GERMAN METHODS

"The following letter, which appeared in *The Times* of the 14th inst., seems to us such a calm and unbiassed opinion on German methods that it is well worth reprinting. As the head of the great publishing house of G. P. Putnam's Sons, Major Putnam's opinion cannot fail to interest our readers, while, as representing both a civilian and a military point of view, his sober words have great weight. In addition, it is the view of an American, and may be taken as that held by the bulk of his nation. At

this moment, while the book trade is earnestly engaged in raising a fund for the booksellers of Belgium, it may well ponder over the words of Major Putnam:

"'I cannot find in the history of modern warfare, even in the fierce campaigns of the first Napoleon, examples of such ruthless murders as have characterized the German occupation of Belgium.'" *The Clique* (of London).

To the Editor of *The Times*.

SIR: As an excuse for the official orders under which towns have been burned and burgomasters and other unoffending citizens have been put to death, the Germans allege that their soldiers have been shot at from attics and from hedges by persons not wearing uniforms. They contend that the only way to protect their troops against this disorderly "sniping" by citizens is to terrorize by wholesale devastation and murder the communities controlled by them.

Soldiers have grounds for objecting to irregular combatants. Those of us who, half a century ago, were sniped at in Virginia and Louisiana found it a very unsatisfactory experience. The soldier has a right to be able to identify his enemy by the customary uniform; but it is also the case that a soldier acting under civilized orders is made to understand that only those bearing the uniform are to be treated as enemies, while the non-combatant citizens, especially women and children, are entitled, even within an enemy's country, to protection, or at least to freedom from assault.

Under the accepted rules of modern warfare it is permissible to execute a person who, being without a uniform, takes the responsibility of joining in the fight. As a matter of practice such a discipline has been very rarely enforced.

In the Shenandoah Valley, for instance, in 1864, the "crippled" old farmers whom we saw in the daytime hobbling around their fields became at night active raiders with Mosby, and rarely troubled themselves to change their garments. I do not believe, however, that any attempt was made either in the Shenandoah or elsewhere (except in the case of a man

shown to be a spy) to make the absence of uniform a ground for the execution of the citizen who was using his rifle to defend his home. Still less would it have been possible in our own war for a commander to make such shooting by citizens a pretext for the destruction of a town or for the execution of town officials. Even an invading soldier may feel sympathy for a peasant who, maddened by the destruction of his home and by the risk of death for wife and children, seizes a rifle to defend that which he holds most dear. The defence of the home is, in fact, the first duty of a man, and a peasant is not to be held responsible for ignorance of military regulations.

I cannot find in the history of modern warfare, even in the fierce campaigns of the first Napoleon, examples of such ruthless murders as have characterized the German occupation of Belgium. The shooting, under the orders of Napoleon, in 1812, of the publisher Palm, has always been referred to as an indefensible crime. While it is contrary to the rules of civilized warfare for civilians to "snipe" at soldiers, it is still more inconsistent, not only with military discipline but with any decent standard of conduct for soldiers, to snipe at unarmed and helpless civilians. The killing in Paris and (before the siege) in Antwerp of men, women, and children by bombs thrown under orders from military aeroplanes must be characterized simply as acts of murder.

In the war of 1870–71 but one town, Bazeilles, was burned by order, and I recall no instance of the execution of town officials for acts committed by peasants.

The present war indicates that in more ways than one there has been in Germany a lowering of the moral standard of action, national and military.

The Germany of William I. suffered a demoralization under the leadership of the unscrupulous Bismarck, and as a result of its success in crushing France it was struck with the craze for world domination, which has since developed so portentously; but the management of the present war shows that, under the teaching of leaders like Treitschke, Bernhardi, and William II., there has been, since 1870, serious deterioration. The present Kaiser and his officers are saying and doing things which would

have brought shame to the old Emperor, and which, if only on the ground of their stupidity, would have mortified Bismarck.

NEW YORK, Oct. 26.

RUSSIAN ATROCITIES

To the Editor of *The New York Times:*

It is possible that the inclosed letter from a German neighbour (who is a stranger to me) may be of interest to your readers as an example of a curious confusion of thought into which have fallen Germans, on both sides of the Atlantic, in regard to the issues of the present struggle and the conduct and the actions of the German army. I am inclosing copy of my reply to Mr. Thiemes.

NEW YORK, Nov. 4, 1914.

NEW YORK, Oct. 28, 1914.

MR. GEORGE HAVEN PUTNAM.

DEAR SIR: Now that you have shown your "true" spirit of neutrality toward Germany, would you not be kind enough to give us a similar piece of your wisdom and describe in detail the way the Russians acted in East Prussia during their short stay there, and how they murdered, tortured, and assaulted women and girls, and cut children and infants to pieces without even the provocation of "sniping"?

This, your new article in *The Times*, I anticipate with the greatest interest.

RUDOLF F. THIEMES.

RUDOLF F. THIEMES, Esq.

MY DEAR SIR: Your letter of the 28th inst., intended as a rejoinder to a letter recently printed by me in *The Times*, is written under a misapprehension in regard to one important matter.

The Americans, who are in a position to judge impartially in regard to the issues of the war, have criticized the official acts which have attended the devastation of Belgium, not because these acts were committed by Germans, but because

they were in themselves abominable and contrary to precedents and to civilized standards.

If the Russians had, under official order, burned Lemberg, including the university and the library, and executed the Burgomaster, they would have come under the same condemnation from Americans that has been given to Germans for the burning of Louvain and Aerschot and the shooting of the Aerschot Burgomaster.

I am myself familiar with Germany. I am an old-time German student, and I have German friends on both sides of the Atlantic, and I am in a position to sympathize with the legitimate aspirations and ideals of these German friends.

I am convinced, however, that no nation can secure in this twentieth century its rightful development unless its national conduct is regulated with a "decent respect to the opinions of mankind." The references made in my *Times* letters were restricted to official actions; things done under the direction of the military commanders acting in accord with the instructions or the general policy of the imperial Government.

The misdeeds of individual soldiers are difficult to verify. While these are always exaggerated, it remains the sad truth that every big army contains a certain percentage of ruffians, and that when these ruffians are let loose in a community, with weapons and with military power behind them, bad things are done. It is my own belief that the material in the German army (which is the best fighting machine that the world has ever seen) will compare favorably with that of any army in the world, and that the percentage of wrongful acts on the part of the German soldiers has been small. Such misdeeds, sometimes to be characterized as atrocities, are the inevitable result of war, and they bring a grave responsibility upon a Government which (to accept as well founded the frank utterances of the leaders of opinion in Germany) has initiated this war for the purpose of "crushing France and of breaking up the British Empire."

You appear to think that it is in order for Germany to visit upon unoffending Belgians reprisal for the misdeeds (as far as such misdeeds may be in evidence) committed by Russians in

East Prussia. I cannot see that this contention is in accord with justice or with common sense.

New York, Oct. 28, 1914.

The Germans in Belgium

To the Editor of *The Evening Post.*

Sir: Your correspondent, Mr. Julius Meyer, and other German-Americans who have written to me personally, find ground for annoyance at my characterization of the acts of the German military authorities against non-combatants in Belgium and in France. Mr. Meyer asks "what name Mr. Putnam would apply to the action of the Belgian Mayor of the town of Battice who, while welcoming German troops to his town, suddenly drew a revolver and shot the commander." He contends that the killing of unarmed citizens (men, women, and children) in Paris and (before the siege) in Antwerp (and later, it may be added, in Warsaw) by bombs thrown, under orders, from military aeroplanes, which I had criticized as acts of murder, was a legitimate military action because "after a declaration of war, fortified places are at any time legitimate objects of attack by any available means."

In the several letters that I have brought into print I have carefully avoided reference to the so-called individual "atrocities." The misdeeds of individuals, whether soldiers or citizens, are difficult to verify. While these are often concocted and always exaggerated, it remains the sad truth that every big army contains a certain percentage of ruffians, and that when these ruffians are let loose in a community with weapons and with military power behind them, bad things are done. It is my own belief that the material in the German army (probably the best fighting machine that the world has ever seen) will compare favorably with that of any army in the world, and that the percentage of wrongful acts on the part of German soldiers has been small. Such misdeeds, sometimes to be criticized as atrocities, are the inevitable result of war, and they bring a grave responsibility upon a Government which (to accept as well founded the frank utterances of Bernhardi and

other German leaders) has initiated this war for the purpose of crushing France and of breaking up the British Empire.

My own criticisms, and those of Americans generally who are in a position to judge impartially in regard to the issues of the war, have been restricted to the *official acts* which have attended the devastation of Belgium and the destruction of cathedrals and towns in France. We condemn these acts not because they have been committed by Germany, but because they are in themselves abominable, and are contrary to precedent and to civilized standards. As an old soldier and as a student of the history of campaigns, I have some knowledge of war regulations and of the procedure of civilized countries. I maintain the contention that unless or until a city is under siege (and the notice of siege is, of course, a caution to citizens to withdraw as far as such withdrawal is possible) the throwing of bombs into groups of unarmed people, men, women, and children, is not warfare in any present use of the term. The killing of these unoffending people can, of course, have no effect whatsoever upon the success or the direction of the campaign; and if this be the case, such killing is properly to be characterized as murder.

Mr. Meyer refers to the dropping of bombs in Düsseldorf by an English aviator. I may remind him that these bombs were not dropped in the city of Düsseldorf, but at a military station well outside the city, that is to say on the sheds containing Zeppelins which were being prepared for an assault upon London.

Various references have been made in the letters from your German correspondents, to individual acts of this or that person in a Belgian village or city. Some of the statements are probably true, but the larger number are, as we may well understand from the history of similar occurrences, either exaggerations or imaginations. A single act is multiplied again and again. In any case, the action of one peasant or one citizen gives no legitimate ground for a reprisal visited upon the whole community.

I have not seen any verified reference to the shooting of a German officer by a Belgian Mayor. It is not in order at this

time to use individual reports for which there is no verification as the basis either for the criticism of the Germans or of their antagonists. If the Russians had, under official order, burned Lemberg, including the university and the library, and executed the Burgomaster, they would have come under the same condemnation from Americans that has been given to the Germans for the burning of Louvain and Aerschot, and for the shooting of the Aerschot Burgomaster.

I am myself familiar with Germany. I am an old-time German student, and I have German friends on both sides of the Atlantic; I am, therefore, in a position to understand and to sympathize with the legitimate aspirations and ideals of these German friends. I am convinced, however, that no nation can secure in this twentieth century its rightful development unless its national conduct is regulated with "decent respect to the opinions of mankind."

I repeat that all criticisms of action, whether Belgian, French, —or German, should be restricted to things done under the direction of the military commanders acting in accord either with specific directions or with the general policy of their respective Governments.

One of my correspondents seemed to think that it was in order for Germany to visit upon unoffending Belgians, reprisals for the misdeeds (as far as such misdeeds might come into evidence) committed by Russians in East Prussia. I cannot see that such contention is in accord either with justice or with common sense.

Americans have a further ground for the condemnation of the methods pursued by the Germans in Belgium. Belgium has, by formal act, been annexed to Germany, and the inhabitants now possess the blessings and privileges belonging to subjects in a German Reichsland. The food that was found by the German armies in the Belgian cities, including the mass of supplies that had been accumulated in Antwerp, has been taken for the use of the troops. Many houses in town and in country have been burned in connection with the operations of war. In addition to this devastation, a number of towns have been burned by order; the starving and impoverished inhabi-

tants have made their way by the thousand into Holland. Those that remain in Belgium are in a state of destitution. If these people are, as Berlin claims, subjects of Germany, it is the duty of Germany to care for them with food and with clothing. It seems evident, however, that no adequate provision is being made for these distressed people, and Americans are now sending food supplies to save from starvation people for whom Germany is properly responsible. It is upon these destitute people that the German authorities are now imposing heavy indemnity payments for the crime of defending their country against an invader who had sworn to protect it.

NEW YORK, November 9th.

A GERMAN "OBSESSION"

To the Editor of *The New York Times:*

I have received a letter (one of a number that have come to me during the past weeks) which may be of interest to the readers of *The Times*. It impresses me as a typical illustration of the curious obsession that has come upon Germans on both sides of the Atlantic as a result of the German craze for world domination and of their bitter hatred of England, the power which, as they have convinced themselves, constitutes the sole obstacle in the way of such domination.

The letter, which comes from a well-known German merchant of this city, reads as follows:

"DEAR SIR: My attention has been called to certain letters written by one George Haven Putnam in *The Evening Post* and *The New York Times*. I find these letters very amusing, as they show that you get your information from the lying English sheets and their 'annexes' (*The New York Times*) in this country. I take it you are an American, but if you are an Englishman please consider this letter as not having been written. It is useless to argue with people who get their information from the lying English sheets.

"I believe you have a business house in London, but not on the Continent. I write you to say what a contemptible scoundrel a man must be who sits in his warm, comfortable

library and who advertises himself with lies at the expense of the German people who are dying for their country. I returned from England last week and I know conditions from personal experience, and no one can stop me from telling the truth. I am sorry that there is in your head such a howling wilderness."

NEW YORK, Nov. 21, 1914.

NATIONAL DEFENCE

.To the Editor of *The Sun.*

SIR: At the meeting held on the evening of December 1st, in which was brought into organization the National Security League, the purpose of the league was presented in a series of resolutions which were adopted without dissent by the citizens present, a very representative gathering.

In the reports of the meeting as printed in the papers of Wednesday, or at least in the majority of these reports, space was not found for the resolutions. These resolutions were worded to make clear to the public the aims and the purpose of the association, and the measures that it proposed to take in order to bring these purposes into effect. I am enclosing copy of the text of the resolutions, which may, I hope, be brought into print.

I contend that there is nothing in the statements here presented of the purposes of our league to warrant the statement which has been made in certain papers in this city that our proceedings were in any way "hysterical." The men who are interesting themselves in the work of this league simply desire to make sure, first, that we secure for the expenditure that is being made in our army and navy the largest possible measure of efficiency, and secondly, that a careful investigation should be made as to whether the time may not have come, in connection with the large changes that are now taking shape in international relations, for some change in the policy of the nation in regard to its army and navy.

I am myself not in favor of any great extension of the force of our army. I do not agree with certain of my friends who

take the ground that an army of not less than 500,000 men should be brought into existence and should be maintained in organization. I think it probable that an extension of the force to 150,000 men would be sufficient to meet the present requirements for defence, or, so to speak, for "insurance." I think, however, that much more important than the increase of the rank and file is a provision for a substantial addition to our force of trained officers. It is my judgment that the training facilities of West Point should be extended as promptly as possible so that we could look forward in the near future to bringing into graduation at least twice the number of officers who are now available from year to year.

If these officers could be connected with half regiments, with companies of, say, fifty-six men instead of 112, we should have a framework available in which could be utilized promptly the service of men from the street with comparatively little training. It was our experience in the Civil War that a regiment which had through hard service been reduced to one quarter of its original size could be kept in condition of substantial efficiency by being filled up with green men. The influence, association, and training given by a small group of veterans works very promptly in making soldiers of good material, however green.

On the other hand regiments that came into the field entirely green, officers and men alike without training, were for months to come of comparatively little service.

If the army authorities could provide a well organized system of "cadres" or skeleton regiments it would be safe to have confidence in filling up these skeleton regiments with good fighting material that could be easily trained.

It would be of advantage if provision should be made for the training of a larger number of officers who could be utilized even for such skeleton organization.

The requirement for actual service on the part of such graduates might be made short, from two to three years. These men, who had received a military education from the State, would always be available for recall from the ranks of citizens. The most noteworthy leaders in our Civil War on

both sides of the line were West Point officers who had gone into civil life but who were quite ready when the country called to take up again their military duties.

In planning for further increased expenditure for the navy I should be of opinion, bearing in mind that the main purpose is for defence, that the larger portion of the funds should be utilized for submarines rather than for an increase in the building plans for the larger vessels. The course of the present war has shown that submarines constitute the best defence for coasts and for harbours.

We have been to the expense of providing coast fortifications. It seems elementary to emphasize the importance, if only as a matter of securing a return from a business investment, to insist that these fortifications should be maintained in a state of efficiency, an efficiency in line with the latest developments in the requirements of fortifications and of coast artillery. It seems also essential that we should make adequate provision for ammunition, particularly that which calls for a larger amount of time for its production.

I see nothing in recommendations of this character to warrant the term "hysterical." If a merchant with valuable material in a warehouse finds that the neighborhood is exposed to some fresh risks from fire he increases his insurance. The recent breaking down of international relations, the evidence that with some nations at least it is not safe to put trust in treaties or in guarantees, and the probability that action of some kind will be required on the part of the United States which ought to have back of it the dignity and the weight of organized national power, indicate in the judgment of many of our citizens that the time has come for a larger expenditure for national insurance.

NEW YORK, December 4th.

THE RESOLUTIONS

Whereas it has been the general policy of our Government to avoid entering into entangling alliances or international relations that would be likely to involve war responsibilities, and

with natural reliance upon our geographical position and the well tested courage and public spirit of our citizens to rest the defence of the country upon a minimum of military and naval forces, and upon the calculation that it should prove possible in an emergency to organize with sufficient promptness a citizens' defensive force; and

Whereas it is the opinion of the citizens here assembled that under the changed conditions of international relations it may not be wise to entrust our national defence to hurried emergency measures;

Now, to the end that public sentiment may be aroused and popular opinion may be organized throughout the entire breadth of the land for the purpose of insuring the enactment by Congress and by other legislative bodies of the measures required for national security, and as a first step toward such general action to procure a proper inquiry on the part of the Administration and of Congress, and to make preparations for whatever action the results of such inquiry may seem to render essential;

Resolved, I. That we now constitute an association which shall be called The National Security League.

II. That a committee of fifty be appointed by the chairman, with power to add to its numbers, to create an executive committee and such other committees as may be found advisable; to adopt suitable by-laws for the governance and for the extension of the league; to take steps to secure the creation of branch leagues or associated leagues throughout the United States with a central body which shall have the general control of the business of the leagues; and to take all measures that may be found desirable for the purpose of maintaining the security of the nation and for educating the opinion of our citizens in regard to the conditions under which national security must be based, and to secure such legislation as may be required for these patriotic purposes.

III. To enroll in its membership, with such conditions as may be found advisable, all citizens who are in accord with the purposes and the work of this league.

Exports to Belligerents

To the Editor of *The New York Times:*

I learn that legislation is proposed which has for its purpose the restriction of exports by American manufacturers of munitions or other supplies which are required for the service of the contestants in the present war. This legislation is urged on the ground that, under existing conditions, one group of contestants which, with the ocean open to their vessels, is able to obtain these supplies, secures an undue advantage over the other group, the commerce of which has been blocked by the opposing navies.

According to my understanding such a change (or any change arrived at during the progress of the war) in the provisions of the statutes or regulations controlling exports would itself constitute a breach of neutrality. The munitions and supplies in question are open to the purchase of all of the contestants, the shipments being of course made at the risk of either the shipper or the buyer: If in the progress of the contest the commerce of one group of contestants has been blocked, the condition is one for which the United States is in no way responsible, and of which it ought, according to my understanding, to take no official cognizance; that is to say, it ought not to make the success of the operations of one group of contestants the ground for shaping American legislation so as to favour or to protect another group. I trust that this view of our national policy and of our national responsibility will meet the approval of Congress and of the President, and that it may secure the all-valuable influence of the support of *The New York Times.*

New York, Dec. 9, 1914.

The Teachings of Treitschke

To the Editor of *The Evening Post.*

Sir: Prof. Morris Jastrow, Jr., who is a recognized authority in several great divisions of scholarship, finds ground for exception to certain of the conclusions presented in an in-

troduction contributed by me to our American edition of "Treitschke's Essays."

The statement that "Germans quote Treitschke and refer to Treitschke as an authority" (for the policies and actions of Germany of today), he terms "a frightful exaggeration."

My sentence is written in the present tense, and it has to do with the use of Treitschke's authority, and of the phrases both of Treitschke and of Treitschke's pupil Bernhardi, as the justification for Germany's action in the present war. It would, of course, have been an exaggeration if I had taken the ground that during the years since Treitschke's death he had held the position of the "chief historical authority of Germany."

The theory upon which the present war policy of Germany appears to be based, *i.e.*, that the "weakling" nation has no rights which the larger Power is bound to respect, is the doctrine of Treitschke. Treitschke writes, for instance: "The whole development of modern state wisdom tends to crush smaller states. . . . In the parcelling up and distribution of land outside of Europe, Germany has fallen short. . . . Germany will be happy when she has received her due and possesses the Rhine in its entirety. . . ." (This involves, of course, the possession by Germany of both Belgium and Holland.) He says further:

"The new great Power of Central Europe has to settle its accounts with all great Powers. We have settled our accounts with Austria-Hungary, with France, and with Russia. The last settlement, the settlement with England, will probably be the most difficult."

Bernhardi, Treitschke's pupil, says: "A pacific agreement with England is a will o' the wisp which no serious German statesman would trouble to follow."

I should, of course, not claim that Treitschke's place as an historian has been comparable to that held "by Mommsen, Ranke, Macaulay, and Carlyle." What impresses Americans is that German actions and German utterances of today are following precisely the lines of the teaching of this historian and preacher (of a national policy), who died in 1896, and

whose pupils, now middle-aged men, are doing what they can to put this policy into force.

The reference in my introduction to Clausewitz as Treitschke's "pupil" is, of course, a stenographer's error. It should read "Treitschke's master." The correction was made promptly in the plates, and finds place in the new edition of the book now printing.

Professor Jastrow is, of course, quite correct in his view that the famous song, "Deutschland über Alles" has not *in the past years* been held as expressing an ambition for world supremacy. As a student in Germany, I have joined in that song with full sympathy.

The interpretation given to it in the past years has been, as Professor Jastrow and other good Germans point out, an expression simply of patriotic devotion to the Fatherland.

It is my contention, however, that under the war spirit, which has developed steadily since 1871 up to the outbreak in August, 1914, the term "Deutschland über Alles" has (and very naturally) come to express the present war spirit of the Fatherland; a war spirit which, as openly avowed, is connected with the necessity of breaking up the British Empire. A long series of utterances have emphasized the belief that Great Britain stands in the way of the natural and proper development of Germany. Between Germany and Great Britain stands France, and "France must be crushed so that she never again will stand in the way of Germany."

The relation of Germany to the colonial possessions of Great Britain recalls the conversation between young Sheridan and his father. "Boy," said the elder Sheridan, "it is time that you took a wife." "Certainly," said the younger, "whose wife shall I take?"

The devastation of Belgium for refusing at the outset to concede a peaceful passage to the German armies, a concession which would have caused Belgium to become an ally with Germany in its assault upon France, is, I contend, a natural sequence of the teachings of Treitschke in regard to the necessary fate of the "weakling."

Treitschke contends that, "if a state is not in a condition to

maintain its neutrality, all talk about the same is mere claptrap." He adds: "All treaties are concluded with a mental reservation, *rebus sic stantibus*."

The volume of Treitschke's Essays makes the first presentation to American readers of his writings. Treitschke's works in the original German had never been published in this country, and I trust that the production of this book in an American edition may prove of service to German-American citizens, as well as to those who can only read the English text. I am sorry if to German-Americans my introduction may give ground for criticism or annoyance, but by these readers it can easily be disregarded.

Treitschke speaks for himself; but as his recommendations are being followed so closely by the Kaiser and his advisers it did not seem to me inaccurate to say that he spoke also for Germany.

NEW YORK, December 14th.

BELGIUM'S EXHIBIT

To the Editor of *The New York Times:*

I note in a recent announcement from Paris that an exhibit from Belgium is available for the World's Fair in San Francisco. It would, of course, have been impracticable to put into shape in the devastated territory of the poor little kingdom an exhibit that would make a fair representation of its industries. Such an exhibit had, however, been prepared a year or more back for the exposition in Lyons, and this is now in readiness to be forwarded at the proper time to San Francisco.

I suggest that it would be in order, as a matter of international courtesy and in recognition of the exceptional disasters that have come upon Belgium in its attempt to defend its liberties, for the government of the United States to offer to bear the expense of the shipment from Lyons to San Francisco of the Belgian exhibits and of their return later. The presence in San Francisco of a representation of Belgian industries placed under the Belgian flag will constitute a legitimate protest on the part of the plucky Belgians against the attempted annexa-

tion of their kingdom by Germany, an annexation which will, I trust, not be confirmed.

NEW YORK, Jan. 11, 1915.

NATIONAL DEFENCE

To the Editor of *The New York Times:*

In a letter recently brought into print, George Foster Peabody, who is well known as a patriotic and public-spirited citizen, points out that if Belgium had, like Luxemburg, decided not to attempt to protect itself with an army or with fortifications, the German forces would have passed through Belgian territory on their way to the invasion of France without any "necessity" for devastation. Belgium would, in this manner, like Luxemburg, have saved the lives and the property of its citizens. From this example in recent history Mr. Peabody reaches the conclusion that it would be wiser for the United States, in like manner, to avoid making provision by troops and by fortifications for national defence, or at least to minimize such provision. By this policy, according to Mr. Peabody, our country would be saved from the risk of the losses attendant upon war.

It is probably true that if the United States should frankly abandon any intention of defending its coast or its territory, and should permit its territory to be utilized by a foreign power as such power might find convenient, there need be no loss of life, and possibly no material loss of property, to American citizens. I doubt, however, whether the citizens of the Republic will be prepared to accept the policy advocated by Mr. Peabody.

The government is under obligations to maintain not only the lives and the property of its citizens, but their liberties and the independence and the honour of the Republic that these citizens have established. I do not believe that Americans are willing to leave the Republic which was created by their ancestors, and which has been maintained through much expenditure of American life and of American treasure, to be left subject to the will, practically to the domination, of any

foreign power that might have interests or that might make interests on this side of the Atlantic. Poor little Belgium has sacrificed much in its attempt to maintain its liberty, but it has at least saved its honour and its manhood. The United States are not a poor nation, and with our hundred millions of people it is not proper for us to be classed with the weaklings among nations, but if we are not to be so classed we must be prepared to maintain not only our own independence, but the policies in regard to world matters that we believe to be right.

We must bear in mind also that we have upon us not only the duty of defending our own shores, but, according to the present interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine, of protecting against European aggression the whole territory of two continents. South America and Mexico constitute for us a larger Belgium. England is now doing all in its power to fulfil its obligations for the protection of the independence of Belgium, but if England had had its forces in readiness Belgium need not have been devastated. We have taken the ground that no European power shall undertake to secure redress by the use of armed forces for such grievances as may have been caused to its citizens in Mexico or South America. Such a position places upon us the responsibility for securing the redress that may be due.

A nation has no right to assume a responsibility that it is not prepared to carry out. It is, therefore, essential, if the Republic is to protect its liberties and to fulfil its obligations, that it should maintain forces adequate for the purpose. It is the hope that after the present European war is brought to a close some progress may be made toward the establishment of a world's court the decisions of which can be enforced by an army made up by contingents from the various states taking part in a world's federation.

This is the aim, and a very legitimate aim, of the men who are preaching the gospel of the world's peace. With such a federal organization, however, the United States will be called upon to provide as its share of the federation army a force proportioned to its national wealth and to its hundred millions of population. The necessary measures should be taken now

toward the organization of such force. The Republic must fulfil its obligations, and this cannot be done under the policy of disarmament advocated by writers like Mr. Peabody.

Not one cent for aggression, but whatever millions are necessary for defence.

NEW YORK, Jan. 14, 1915.

AMERICA'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE WAR

(From the London *Bookseller*)

"Mr. Karl W. Hiersemann, the well-known publisher of Leipsic, sent to Mr. G. H. Putnam a reply to the letter on the war which appeared in a previous issue of *The Bookseller*. Mr. Putnam has written to him the following rejoinder, which he sends to us for publication, in the hope that if the original fails to pass the German Censor Mr. Hiersemann may read it in our columns. Apart from this, Mr. Putnam's letter is of such importance that we are sure all our readers will be glad to have it."

NEW YORK, Jany. 21, 1915.

MY DEAR SIR: I am writing to acknowledge receipt of your favour of December 24th, and report as follows in regard to the matters in question:—

1. I am appreciative of the friendly tone of your letter. It is evident that we are very far apart in our opinions and convictions in regard to the great issue of the present European contest, but it also appears that you have a friendly memory of my old-time relations with Germany, and particularly with the German book trade, and that you are prepared to believe that I would not knowingly put on record any conclusions in regard to German motives or German actions that I did not believe to be well founded.

2. Our friends in Germany evidently do not realize the status of public opinion in the United States; and in so far as they have been told that this opinion is unfavourable to the cause of Germany—is, in fact, increasingly indignant at German policy and German official action and utterances—they

are not able to understand how this result should have come about.

3. The American people were at the time the war began, and are still, in a better position than any other people to arrive at an impartial judgment in regard to the matters at issue. We have in our population a larger German element than is possessed by any other nation outside of Germany; we have had in our hands, both through direct correspondence with Germany and through the comprehensive and very persistent efforts of the German publication committee in the United States, an enormous mass of material presenting the German side of the case; the defence for German actions that have been criticized; the intentions and the ideals of the German Empire, and of the people back of the Empire. No effort has been made by any one of the other parties to the contest to influence public opinion as has been done by Germany, and it is necessary to report that, as far as is concerned the opinion of Americans who are not German by birth or by heritage, the attempt to secure American approval for German action has utterly failed. It has, in fact, failed with not a few of the more important of the German-Americans themselves —the two or three survivors of the men of '48 and the children of the forty-eighters. In addition to this special mass of German material, the Americans have had in their hands, and have examined intelligently and impartially, the official documents or books, Yellow Books, Grey Books, etc., of England, France, and Belgium; and also the official book of Germany, which, unfortunately, contains some very serious gaps, more particularly regarding the correspondence with Austria. They will be interested in examining the official book of Austria, whenever such book may be brought into print.

After a careful examination of the evidence, the Americans have convinced themselves, *first*, that the responsibility for initiating this desolating and abominable war rests with Germany and with Austria, and primarily with Germany, which controlled the action of Austria.

Second. That the war had long been prepared for by Germany. The aggressive policy that the Empire had in view is

clearly set forth by Bernhardi, and the steps that have been taken and the new methods of action brought into the warfare are directly in line with the counsel and the teachings of Bernhardi.

Third. That the larger or ultimate purpose of the struggle is the breaking up of the British Empire, of large portions of which Germany hopes to become the inheritor.

In sojourns in England during the past fifty years I never read or heard an English utterance expressing desire for anything that belonged to Germany. In Germany, and among German-Americans outside of Germany, I have repeatedly heard the prophecy that the English Empire must be broken up, and that its colonial power must be transferred to Germany. It is my belief that there has been during the years since 1871 a persistent concoction of misstatements and malicious statements about England which have had for their purpose the arousing of German antagonism. I have heard many German references to "English perfidy" and "treachery," but I have never yet been given a single bit of evidence in regard to such treachery. England *has* been fearful of German invasion and of German aggression upon Belgium, for the safety of which she had made herself responsible, but there could, in fact, never have been any interest on the part of England in making aggression against German territory or German power.

It is the American belief that Germany has introduced into this war practices, some of which in connection with the new mechanism of warfare establish barbarous and indefensible precedents, of a character never before known in civilized warfare.

The unwarranted invasion of Belgium, for the criminality of which there are various evidences, including the frank admissions of von Bethmann-Hollweg and von Jagow; the burning by order of Belgian cities; the taking of hostages and making these hostages responsible for individual acts (which were entirely out of their control); the shooting of these hostages; the armies' appropriation for their use of the great stores of food collected in Antwerp and elsewhere, so that the communities were left in a state of starvation, and that people,

who are now, under the claim of Berlin, subjects to Germany, have to be saved from death by the charity of the United States; and the imposition upon these devastated communities, in some cases after the formal annexation, of crushing indemnities: all constitute new and bad precedents in warfare.

In addition to these, the readiness to assail, whether by warships or by Zeppelins, women and children—measures that could in no way influence the course of campaigns—are filling Americans with indignation.

A large number of us here are now strongly in favour of our government taking part with other neutral states, such as Italy and Scandinavia, to protest against what can only be described as futile barbarism. I have before me an article written by the son of an old German forty-eighter, who is now the owner and editor of a great paper, headed "Savage and Futile Warfare."

This article takes the ground that the latest German air raid must fall under "the heaviest condemnation of civilized men." It is "pure savagery and without warrant in international law." The Americans have convinced themselves further that the only hope of future continued peace is in the success of the Allies. The success of Germany must mean the continuance of conditions that make for war.

Old soldiers like myself can feel a full measure of respect and admiration for the magnificent fighting power shown by the German armies, but no intelligent man would permit his appreciation of the fighting qualities of the soldiers to confuse his judgment of the cause for which the fighting was done.

Half a century ago, we soldiers of the North had reason to respect the magnificent fighting done by General Lee and the armies of the South, but the success of those armies would have meant the permanence of slavery, the breaking up of the Republic, and great loss to the civilization of the world. France and England are fighting for existence. I have before me a German utterance brought into print early in the war, which takes the ground that France, standing in the way of Germany, that is to say, between Germany and England, "must be so crushed that she would never again stand in the way of Germany." Americans feel that Belgium, absolutely innocent

of any wrong of aggression, has made a plucky fight for its liberties, and must have those liberties restored.

I am gratified that you should think my letter would prove of sufficient interest to German readers to cause it to be brought into print in the *Börsenblatt*. I have been interested in borrowing a copy of the paper in order to read the editorial comments. The paragraph that was omitted from this letter was intended to point out that Bismarck could not have approved of the diplomatic management, or lack of management, which at the outset of the war brought upon Germany unnecessary enemies.

If Germany had restrained itself from invading Belgian territory, which it had sworn to protect, and had allowed France to become, in form at least, the aggressor, the position of England and of Italy would have been very difficult. England (although the fight would in the end have been for her own existence) would at the outset at least have had no technical ground for interference, while the support of Italy for Germany might have been claimed under the terms of the alliance. Italy's decision that the war was one of "German aggression" was itself an important factor in shaping American opinion.

It is difficult to see how with any termination of the war there can, within the lifetime of a man of my years, be a healing of the great cleavages that have come up between whole nations and between the individuals of those nations who have had friendly relations with each other.

With many friends in Germany and German friends on this side of the Atlantic, I can only still hope that when this craze for German domination has passed away (and it is, of course, perfectly natural that the citizens of a nation at war should have their judgment clouded in regard to the rightfulness of the actions of their government) the people of Germany may themselves be prepared to do their part towards bringing about such federation of the nations of Europe as to insure continued peace.

Herr Karl W. Hiersemann,
Leipsic, Germany.

German Propaganda

New York, Jan. 29, 1915.

To the Editor of *The New York Times:*

I send you a copy of my answer to a letter that comes to me from the Germany University League. There has for some time been in existence in the United States a *verein*, or union, of German-American students, and as there is no requirement for a new association of the same kind, it is my impression that this so-called University League represents simply another division of the persistent work of the German propaganda committee.

Jan. 26, 1915.

My dear Sir: I am writing to acknowledge receipt of your suggestion that I should accept membership in the University League. I am an old-time German student and I have since 1860 had many friends in Germany and a number of German friends also on this side of the Atlantic. I have found myself keenly interested in German literature and in sympathy with not a few of the German ideals and purposes. I have also found cause for admiration for the wisdom and efficiency shown in the management of many of the social and political problems in Germany, and particularly in the control and development of the resources of its municipalities. Under other circumstances I should doubtless have found much to interest me in associating with the members who are to be brought together in the University League, although, as I am now an old man and have little time for frivolities, I am planning for no present additions to my list of clubs, associations, or committees.

Under the conditions now obtaining, I find myself, however, unwilling to meet Germans, whether friends, acquaintances, or strangers. Our thoughts are full of the great issues connected with or arising from the present European war, and we are looking at these issues from very different points of view.

It is my judgment that we Americans have, from the outset, been in a better position than are any other people to secure a trustworthy knowledge of the events and conditions, and to

arrive at an impartial judgment in regard to the causation of the war, the relative responsibilities for the beginning of the war, and the interests of Europe and the world as to the results of the war. We have, with but few exceptions, convinced ourselves that the responsibility for beginning the war rests with Germany and with Austria, and primarily with Germany, which not only influenced, but controlled the action of Austria.

We believe that the preparation for this war had been made by Germany years back, and that the Servian incident merely served as a convenient occasion for the outbreak.

We believe that the main purpose of the war is the destruction of the British Empire and the taking over of her colonial possessions, to which Germany has long expected to become the heir. France stands between Germany and England and, to use the German words, "France must be crushed this time so thoroughly that she shall never again stand in the way of Germany." The unauthorized invasion and the devastation of Belgium seem to have been considered by the German ruler as but trivial incidents which should carry no weight in connection with this larger policy.

I am myself an old soldier, and I have looked with increasing indignation at the manner in which Germany is conducting this war and at the barbarous precedents that in this twentieth century are being made under German official orders. The destruction, by order, of Belgian cities, the taking of hostages, and the making of these hostages responsible for the actions of individuals whom they were not in a position to control; the shooting of many of these hostages; the appropriation for the use of the armies of the food which had been stored in Antwerp and elsewhere, so that the people in Belgium, now officially classed as "subjects of Germany," are dependent upon American charity to save them from starvation; the imposition upon these starving and ruined communities of crushing indemnities—all these things impress Americans as contrary to the standards of modern civilization. The ruin brought upon Louvain can, it seems to us, be paralleled in modern history only by the destruction of Heidelberg by the troops of Louis XIV., but this instance of French barbarism is

nearly 250 years back and ought assuredly not to have been imitated in this twentieth century.

We find ground also for indignation at the use of vessels of war and of Zeppelins for the killing of women and children and other unarmed citizens in undefended places. Such killing, which has nothing whatsoever to do with the direction of the work of campaigns, can only be classed as murder. With these views I cannot, therefore, at this time at least, accept the companionship of German-Americans who are prepared to approve, defend, or excuse these actions.

Americans believe further that it is only through the decisive success of the Allies that progress can be made toward a general disarmament, through which the peoples of the world can be freed from unnecessary burdens, and some assurance may be secured of continued peace. The success of Germany would involve, of necessity, renewal of war in the near future. I have in my hands a volume prepared by a member of the General Staff of the German Army. The author presents plans for the invasion and the domination of the United States and contends that "Germany is the only great power which is in a position to conquer the United States." This little book constitutes one further contribution to the conclusion that the Germany of today is, like France under Napoleon, aiming at world domination.

Regretting that the war itself, and the methods with which the war is being conducted, should have brought so large a cleavage not only between peoples in Europe, but between groups of citizens on this side who have been, and who ought to remain, in friendly association, I am, yours respectfully.

Herr Dr. HUGO KIRBACH, Secretary German University League, 225 Fifth Avenue.

GERMANY'S TEMPER

To the Editor of *The New York Times:*

You may think it of interest to your readers to bring into print, as a curious example of the state of German feeling and

of the method of German expression, the inclosed anonymous communication which reaches me today from Germany, and which has been passed (as if with approval) with the stamp of the German censor. This utterance probably does not come from a member of the educated class, but the spirit of it seems to me not very different from that of old Prof. Lassen whose letter you printed in *The Times* of yesterday, and who writes:

"A man who is not German knows nothing of Germany. We are morally and intellectually superior to all—without peers. It is the same with our organizations and our institutions. . . . We are truthful. Our characteristics are humanity, gentleness, conscience, the virtue of Christianity. In a world of wickedness, we represent the love of God, who is with us."

NEW YORK, Feb. 1, 1915.

[*Inclosure*]

To G. H. PUTNAM, Publisher, New York:

The hand of a rascal like yourself, which could dare to bring into print words so unworthy of the great German people, should rot off. The statements made by you (as reprinted in the *Börsenblatt* from *The New York Times*) could spring only out of a withered, English-feeling blockhead. May God punish England and may you, rascal, answer for your utterance. May God punish her, because England is the bloodhound of this war.

THE WAR METHODS OF GERMANY

MY DEAR SIR: I acknowledge the receipt of your letter of recent date, in which you send citations from a report rendered by General von Bissing, Military Governor of Belgium, in regard to conditions in that country. You take the ground that the accounts of atrocities committed in Belgium and in France are undoubtedly largely exaggerated, and have in any case, in large part at least, to do with incidents that are unavoidable in the conduct of campaigns.

In regard to the several matters concerning which you now raise question, I reply as follows:

1. The evidence upon which American citizens, like myself, have relied in regard to acts and conditions in Belgium has been secured, first, from the reports of the orders issued to and by the German military commanders, and, second, from the reports of responsible Belgians in this country and in England. The University of Oxford, with which I have had close personal relations for many years, has, as you know, given shelter to the refugee professors from the devastated University of Louvain, while the town of Oxford has extended hospitality to the townspeople from Louvain. With first-hand statements on the part of these refugees and with the series of German orders directing such things as the destruction of towns, the taking of hostages, the execution of citizens, the appropriation of food from the stores collected at Antwerp and elsewhere, we see no reason to recall or to modify the strictures that were made upon the needless brutality that accompanied the German occupation of Belgium.

2. When Germany decided, contrary to its own plighted word, that it was "necessary" to put to one side the neutrality of Belgium and to occupy the little kingdom as a tramping ground for the march of invasion to France, it would have been natural to treat with exceptional consideration a people that had been brought into this war through no ambition, no aggression, no action of its own. In place of such consideration, the army of invasion and the commandants who were placed in charge of the towns and districts appear to have been imbued with some special feeling of hatred against the innocent people who had been wronged. As has before been stated, one has to go back a couple of centuries to find in such an act as the destruction of Heidelberg by the ruffian army of Louis XIV. a parallel to the unnecessary devastation in Belgium.

3. You are, of course, correct in the contention that during every war reports of atrocities are always exaggerated and are largely invented. It is necessary in making criticisms against one set of combatants or another to be careful about the acts which serve as the text for criticism. I have before me the

report printed some weeks back in Paris by a commission that had been appointed to examine into a very limited group of the so-called atrocities, namely those that were committed, or alleged to have been committed, by the German troops in that portion of France temporarily occupied by the invaders, and after recovered by the French army. These districts comprise but five per cent. of the entire territory of the Republic. This record is devoted in the main to the misdeeds and unnecessary barbarities committed under military order. I have also before me a pamphlet compiled by Professor Bédier, which is based in large part upon German documents and letters, diaries that were secured from prisoners or from German soldiers who had been killed. These two pamphlets are based not upon newspaper gossip, but upon records carefully vouched for. They make together a very sad and almost impossible story of unnecessary barbarity.

4. I have said before in print that in my judgment the rank and file of the German armies comprised as good material as has ever been put into the field. The best of troops will, however, get out of hand at times unless very strictly controlled; and no soldiers can avoid being demoralized when they are making devastation and are committing barbarities under order.

It is the charge against the German operations that the ordinary certainty of misery that follows in the train of armies has in this twentieth century been unnecessarily increased under a policy of impressing upon the population the "frightfulness" of the German power. The instructions given years back by the Kaiser to his soldiers in China that they were to act as Huns so that the name of Germany should be remembered and kept in dread, has been confirmed and extended in orders of German commanders in France and in Belgium. It is this present official policy and not the original German character that forms the text for American criticism.

5. Since I had occasion before to bring into print an expression of the opinion of American citizens who are in accord with me in regard to the barbarity of the precedents now being made in this twentieth century by the armies of Germany,

further acts have been done which can only give fresh force and emphasis to the term "unnecessary barbarity."

Count Zeppelin was reported some little time back as expressing surprise that the use of his magnificent invention should have been characterized as barbarous. The Count has, of course, had no share or responsibility in giving the orders under which the Zeppelins have acted. It seemed to the Count that there was no more barbarity in dropping bombs from a Zeppelin than in throwing shells from a field gun, and in this contention the Count is justified. There is nothing in the use of his magnificent invention which, of necessity, involves barbarity.

If, however, a battery advancing towards a battle line should stop on the way to throw shells into a village that had no relation to the scene of combat and that contained no combatants, the commander of that battery would be stigmatized as using with futile barbarity the power in his hands. It is the use of bombs from the Zeppelins for the killing of women and children in undefended places, places which have no possible connection with the management of a campaign and the destruction of which can in no way affect the results of a campaign, that is characterized as "a barbarous act."

The use of the submarines for the destruction of vessels of peace, fishermen, trawlers, cargo carriers, trading vessels, vessels with passengers, women and children, vessels a number of which are not even the property of the nation with which Germany is at war, that constitutes, in the judgment of American citizens, a barbarous and abominable precedent in the management of this new instrument of war. Germany has attempted to offset this killing of innocent noncombatants, a killing that has been characterized as murder, by criticism of the methods initiated by Great Britain for the blockading of the German coast. It is true that certain new blockading methods which Great Britain is putting into force are causing decided inconvenience to neutral states, such as, for instance, the United States and Holland, and that it is in order, if only to avoid confirming by silence precedents that ought not to be accepted for the future, to make protest against these actions;

but there can, of course, be no possible comparison between acts that inconvenience or delay trade, and which are accompanied by efforts to avoid or to minimize the loss to shippers by the purchase of the cargoes, and the use of submarines in a manner which brings to large numbers of non-combatants not only the risk but the certainty of death. The unarmed people, men, women, and children, thus destroyed have comprised not only citizens of the nations with which Germany is at war, but a number of citizens of neutral states.

6. In a recent article in a German newspaper,—I think it was the *Hamburger Nachrichten*,—the writer expresses indignation at the report that a German submarine had been rammed by a British trading vessel. He takes the ground that the fighting "should be restricted to the armed combatants," and that any interference through an act of war on the part of a citizen, or a group of citizens, was piracy. It is difficult to understand the naïveté with which a journalist could at this time have brought into print such a statement.

Such an act as the sinking of the passenger steamer *Falaba* with the loss of over 100 lives has caused horror and indignation to the whole civilized world. The German contention that killing of this kind belongs to the necessities of modern warfare must not be accepted as a precedent. The power to capture does not carry with it the right to kill.

It is the contention in Germany that such an act as the sinking of the *Falaba* is an unavoidable accident of modern warfare. Such things seem to be the necessary results of present German methods of warfare, but it is these methods that are condemned as abominable not only by the antagonists of Germany, but by the Americans as by all neutral peoples. The mere fact that Germany finds them convenient will not cause them to be accepted as international precedents.

The Germans on this side of the Atlantic have, of course, a share in the responsibility for such misdeeds only in so far as they approve and defend them.

The protest of the neutral states (added to the protest of the states at war) should be made with persistence, and should, if necessary, be sustained with force. Germany must be held

strictly accountable for deeds for which even in earlier centuries of warfare there are no precedents.

Americans are, of course, in accord with the contention that war ought to be restricted to the armed and organized combatants, but the German journalist seems to forget that war as conducted in this twentieth century under Prussian leadership has been characterized by unnecessary killing of unarmed noncombatants.

It is difficult to find any ground for criticizing a trading vessel, British or other, which being threatened with destruction by a submarine acting not against an armed enemy but in the rôle of a sea pirate, would do what might be practicable to put that submarine out of commission. One might as well criticize a fisherman for attempting to destroy a shark.

7. At the outbreak of the war, Germany was in a fair position to secure for its contentions the support of a large body of American opinion. During the past six months, Americans have, however, had placed before them a fairly comprehensive record of the documents which show how the war was brought about. They learn from these documents how far back Germany's preparations had been made. They learn from the Italian reports, for instance, that the war had been planned as early as 1912. They know that at the outbreak of the war, the German forces were in readiness, while those of France and Great Britain were not. They know that because France and Britain trusted to the good faith of Germany, they were not in a position at the time of the outbreak of the war to defend promptly the Belgians whom they had sworn to protect. Apart from this evidence of the responsibility for the war, they have now before them the six months records of the conduct of the war, and this record has made it impossible to enlist American sympathy in support of the German cause.

Americans are in fact convinced that the success of the allies is essential for an assured peace.

A Berlin journalist is quoted recently as saying that "the smaller states of Europe have no right to stand in the way of the development of an Empire like Germany." He was writing

to emphasize the necessity, for the interests and "rights" of Germany, for the absorption of Belgium and of Holland.

American influence will, however, be used to further at the close of the war a settlement which, instead of destroying the liberties of the smaller states, shall insure their continued independence and protection. Americans will propose that the peoples of territories the control of which has been in controversy, shall be accorded the right to decide by plebiscite their national affiliations. It is our hope that through this recognition of the right of the peoples to select their own government, the risks of future wars may be removed. The Hohenzollern policy of military domination must be crushed, and then the people of Germany will be free to utilize their patriotism, their exceptional scientific abilities, and their magnificent powers of organization for a legitimate development of the resources of their great country.

NEW YORK, April 19, 1915.

OPPOSES EMBARGO ON ARMS

"George Haven Putnam, the publisher, said today," says the New York *Evening Post* of May —, 1915, "that he had received a letter from Paul Blume and a copy of a petition to President Wilson bearing on the question of the shipment of arms and ammunition to belligerent countries. In a statement to the *Evening Post*, Mr. Putnam said on the subject:

"'It is important that good citizens who are interested in checking the bloodshed caused by the war should not permit themselves to be confused in connection with an undertaking initiated by German-American citizens and which has for its purpose unneutral action in aid of Germany.'

"To Mr. Blume a reply was sent by Mr. Putnam as follows":

I return without my signature the petition to the President which makes request for an embargo on the export of arms and ammunition.

I am fully sympathetic with the citizens who want to see the war brought to an early close. I think that still more important, however, than an early termination of the war is a settlement that shall insure peace, and that shall take away the necessity for retaining Europe as an armed camp.

I believe that such settlement can be secured only through the defeat of Germany, which should bring to a close the attempt to control Europe under the militarism of Berlin.

I believe that the interference at this time with war conditions by a prohibition of the sale of munitions by citizens of the United States would serve, not to hasten the close of the war, but to prolong the contest. I believe, also, that such action on the part of our government would itself constitute a direct infringement of neutrality.

It would also be inconsistent with precedents that have been maintained by the United States, by Germany, and by nations generally in regard to the freedom of action in the sale of war material. If, at the time of the outbreak of this war, the contestants had divided between them the control of the ocean, there would have been no suggestion for the prohibition of the sale of munitions by the United States. If, through the success of one belligerent, the fleets of the other have been swept from the seas, such changed condition can not affect the rightful policy of the United States. All nations, whether at war or at peace, are free to make purchase of munitions in the United States. It is not the responsibility of our government or of our citizens, that certain nations are, under the fortunes of war, prevented from securing the delivery of such munitions if purchased.

I do not myself believe that the President is going to be influenced to unneutral, inconsistent, and illegitimate action by petitions such as that now proposed. The purpose of those who have planned the proposed embargo is to hinder the operations of the allies, and thus give aid to Germany. Such an interference in the contest, and, in fact, any change made during the progress of the war in the regulations controlling the action of neutrals, must itself constitute a breach of neutrality.

The prohibition of the export of munitions would not restrict the power of Germany to utilize her submarines for the destruction of vessels of commerce and for killing of unarmed citizens, women, and children.

The "cause of humanity and justice" cannot be furthered until the fighting power of the nation that carries on war in this fashion shall have been restricted.

May 5, 1915.

The "Lusitania"

An "Open Letter" to Mr. Wilson

President Wilson—Sir: The loyal citizens of the United States are, in this world's crisis, looking to their President to take the prompt and decisive measures required to maintain the honour and the dignity of our country.

They want to feel assured that the United States will fulfil the obligations that belong to it as the greatest of the neutral nations.

A league of neutral states ought now to be constituted under the leadership of the United States, and this league should call to strict account the nation which through repeated criminal actions has placed itself outside of the pale of civilization.

Germany must be made to realize that the power to capture does not and cannot carry with it the right to kill.

Mr. Ridder reminds us this morning in the *Staats-Zeitung* that due notice was given of the risk to be incurred, under present war conditions, by passengers on the north Atlantic. The fact that the German Ambassador, possessing full knowledge of the barbarous policy of his Government and having possibly also been informed of the specific plan for the application of such policy, saw fit to caution American travellers that there was risk in journeying to England does not lessen the responsibility for the murder of these travellers.

Jack the Ripper has given notice that he proposes to continue his slaughter of the innocents, but this notice will hardly avail to save him from the usual penalty for murder.

The murderous intent of the assailants of the *Lusitania* is indicated by the fact that, instead of simply disabling the vessel, as could easily have been accomplished by a torpedo blow forward, which would have given opportunity for saving the passengers by beaching or by the boats, she was struck in three places so that she sank in a few minutes.

It was evidently the purpose to bring about the largest possible loss of life.

The thoroughness of the German discipline warrants the conclusion that, as was the case with the burnings and shootings in Belgium, not only the attack itself but the method pursued was in accord with specific instructions from the Kaiser.

American citizens have the right to depend upon their government for protection, and the representatives of those Americans who have been murdered look to the President and to Congress to secure due redress.

The people should have an opportunity of expressing themselves through their representatives in Congress assembled at once in special session.

Suggestions for similar action on the part of the other neutral states should be given at once through our representatives in Stockholm, Christiania, Copenhagen, and The Hague.

Americans are prepared to give cordial support to their government in wise, firm, and courageous action.

NEW YORK, May 10th.

WAR AS WE MADE IT

To the Editor of *The New York Times:*

The letters of Professor Yandell Henderson, in which he undertakes to find in the devastation caused during the Civil War by our armies in the South a parallel to the actions of the Germans in Belgium, France, and England, give one an unfavourable impression of the capacity of the Professor for historical research or for accuracy of statement.

He appears not to understand that the indictment that has been made against the procedure of Germany rests chiefly,

although by no means exclusively, on the things done under official orders and in accordance with the avowed policy of impressing and dismaying its antagonists with the "frightfulness" of its methods.

The charge against Germany is that, in the deliberate shooting of citizens, in the use of Zeppelins for assaulting undefended towns of no military importance, and by the action of submarines in sinking, without warning and without examination of papers or of imaginary armaments, passenger vessels, she is making war against noncombatants and is, with deliberate purpose and with no possible military result, slaying women and children.

It ought not to be necessary to point out at this time, when the detailed record of the Civil War has for years been available for all readers, including even professors, that the order books of our armies contain no instructions of this character, for the simple reason that the American Government had no such policy. The American people would not have stood for any such methods in 1861 and they do not propose to condone them now.

I was with the troops that in 1862 occupied New Orleans; and in 1864 I was with Sheridan in Virginia. During the last months of the war I served with Sherman's armies in North Carolina and later as post adjutant of Savannah. If our commanders, in taking possession of New Orleans, Winchester, Goldsboro, or Savannah, had deliberately burned great quarters of the towns, had put under arrest as hostages the mayors and groups of leading citizens, and later, on the ground of straggling shooting by people in the town or in the adjacent districts, had executed a number of these hostages, their action could properly have been paralleled with that of the German commanders at Louvain, Aerschot, Termonde, and other Belgian towns. The mere reference to the methods under which these towns in the South were occupied shows the futility of the statement that American troops were behaving at that time as the German armies are today. I myself had occasion, in the Valley of Virginia, acting under instructions, to save houses from being destroyed when the adjacent barns, filled

with forage, were burned; but in three years of service I never knew of an officer being called upon to protect a woman against mistreatment by our soldiers.

Professor Henderson has had the opportunity of reading the evidence that has been so carefully analyzed and so temperately presented in the official report by the commission in Paris, in the pamphlet of Bédier, in which are given in facsimile the original German documents, and the conclusive summary of deeds that can be classed only as damnable, which has been brought together by the committee working under the direction of Lord Bryce, a man whose words carry weight throughout the world. No such indictment has been presented against a state calling itself civilized since the time of the invasion of the Palatinate, under the equally barbarous instructions given by Louis XIV.

An American holding a professor's chair in one of our great institutions ought not to permit himself, in speaking of the devastation of the Civil War as comparable with these deeds in Belgium, to traduce the reputation of the American volunteer armies.

June 4, 1915.

Frightfulness to Order

New York, June 9, 1915.

To the Editor of *The New York Times:*

The question of the devastation brought about during our Civil War of half a century back has no very direct pertinence in connection with the consideration of the actions committed during the present war by Germany in Belgium, France, and England. You have thought it desirable, however, to give space in your paper of this morning to an article by Mrs. McCulloch-Williams, in which she emphasizes the record of our American "frightfulness in war," and makes reference to me as bringing into print authoritative statements to the effect that our war was characterized by no real harshness. You may think it worth while to bring into print this word of rejoinder.

I want to emphasize in reply to the strictures of Mrs.

Williams the difference between the Federal treatment of the Confederate towns occupied by them and that accorded by the Germans to Louvain, Aerschot, Termonde, and other places in Belgium and in France. As a further matter for comparison, I may point out that if one of our batteries had turned aside from its march to throw shells upon undefended villages for the purpose of killing unarmed citizens, women, and children, the action would have been parallel to that of the German Zeppelins in England and of the German submarines attacking trawlers and passenger vessels in the Channel.

In such mention as I have had occasion to make of the behaviour of our Northern troops as compared with that of the German armies, I have taken pains to restrict my references to the things that were done *officially* under orders and in accord with some general policy. No great army can pass through the territory of an antagonist without the commission of misdeeds by individuals. In any army comprising thousands of soldiers there are always some men (constituting but a small percentage of the whole) whose brute instincts come to the front if opportunity presents. With the strictest discipline, it is not possible to prevent the misdeeds by some of these men working on the fringe of the organized forces. This brings a heavy burden of responsibility upon those who are willing to initiate war, whether the first steps be taken in Charleston or in Berlin. When, however, as has been the case with the German troops in Belgium and in France, large misdeeds are committed under orders, the individual ruffians are then too ready to extend these misdeeds on their own account.

What I had emphasized was that in cities and towns throughout the Confederacy in which I had had personal experience, and sometimes official responsibility, and in other towns the history of the occupation of which is on record, life and property were preserved with care. No American commander thought himself justified in permitting destruction in cities like New Orleans, Charleston, Winchester, etc.; nor was there any instance of an attempt to impose upon these cities, which were in any case impoverished by the necessary operations of the war, crushing indemnities. After our occupation,

the inhabitants went on with their customary work, and those who were in need came to our commissaries and secured rations. I have, as acting commissary, myself issued such rations.

The only town, as far as I can find record, that was burned "under orders" during the Civil War was Chambersburg, Penn. This burning was done by Colonel McCausland, under the orders of General Early, because the amount of an indemnity demanded had not been paid with sufficient promptness. This was, however, an isolated and exceptional act. It was the general policy of both armies, as is made clear by the order-books, not to destroy, but to protect the towns and the inhabitants.

The Honour of our War

To the Editor of *The New York Times:*

I am inclosing with this a communication from my old friend and commander, Judge Charles C. Nott, who rendered brilliant service in the West as a Captain of cavalry and was later Colonel of my own regiment, the One Hundred and Seventy-sixth New York State Volunteers. He gave a long term of service (until retired by age) as Chief Justice of the Court of Claims in Washington. He is now over 85 years of age, and on the ground as well of his mature years as of his long judicial experience, he is free from the temptation of thinking or writing intemperately or injudiciously. He had, I find, been very seriously concerned that *The New York Times* should have given space to statements about the actions of our army fifty years ago, and to the attempt to utilize these actions as an excuse for the official destruction carried on by German troops in Belgium and for the warfare against women and children on the part of German submarines and Zeppelins.

As I have before stated, the devastation caused in the South by the march of Sherman's troops has no proper relation to the destruction of towns in Belgium or the shooting of hostages or the killing of women and children. The honour of the American army is something to be treasured, not simply by the veterans themselves, but by all American citizens, and it is natural for veterans like Judge Nott to protest against the attempt that

has been made to put American commanders on a par with the men who gave commands for the killing and destruction in Belgium and in England. I trust, therefore, that you will make space for Judge Nott's communication.

NEW YORK, June 29, 1915.

[*Inclosure*]

DEAR MAJOR PUTNAM: I have read with great interest and with entire approval the letters that you have recently brought into print in *The Times*. The persons who justify or excuse or attempt to mitigate the atrocities committed in 1915 by the army and navy of Germany by reference to the conduct of the Union forces during our Civil War deserve a censure which I do not now care even to express.

My range of service during the war was somewhat wider than yours, as it extended from Virginia to Texas. I can say that in my years of war experience I never, with but one exception, saw a city, town, village, or hamlet burned by the soldiers. That exception was Richmond, which was fired by the Confederate troops at the time of their evacuation in April. The first act of the Union army on entering the city was to help its citizens to subdue the fire. The Confederates abandoned Richmond on the night of April 2, 1865. General Weitzel, under whom you and I served in Louisiana, entered the city with his division on the morning of April 3d. When I came into Richmond on the 5th of April I saw the still smoking ruins, and I heard from all classes of citizens the facts above narrated.

In my own two volumes, *Sketches of the War in the West* and *Sketches of Prison Camps*, narratives which were, as you know, written at the time while the war was still in progress, I have noted many instances of good-will between the warring Americans. That those Americans, Northerners or Southerners, should now be likened to these ruthless Germans arouses within me an indignation which it is very hard to repress.

C. C. NOTT,
Late Colonel 176th N. Y. Vols.

CRESCENT BEACH, June 26, 1915.

The State of Anglo-American Feeling

A letter from a member of the British Government to George Haven Putnam

Westhampton Beach, July 22, 1915.

To the Editor of *The New York Times:*

I have received from a correspondent who holds high office in the present British Administration, in reply to a letter of suggestion of my own, a report in regard to certain issues now existing between the United States and Great Britain, issues which have made trouble, and which may be made the text or the pretext for serious friction, between the United States and Great Britain.

I belong myself to the group of those who consider it of first importance that sympathetic friendly relations should be maintained between the United States and Great Britain, and believing, as I do, that Great Britain and her allies are fighting in the cause of civilization, I am anxious that the United States should take pains to minimize the difficulties in the way of a successful outcome in the contest, and should in any case do nothing that might serve to increase those difficulties. I can but think that the information presented by my English correspondent is of importance and should prove of service in making clear the nature of certain of the cases that have been utilized to bring about friction and difficulties.

The letter is personal, and I am not permitted to use in connection with it the name of its distinguished author, but it is my belief that he could not object to having the information that he presents utilized to further this all-important matter of international relations.

With reference to one expression in the letter of my correspondent, I may say here that a number of months back I suggested that our Administration ought to have brought into existence a league of neutral nations, of which the United States would naturally have been the leader. It would have been the duty of this league to take cognizance from time to time of actions by any of the combatants which impaired, or

seemed likely to impair, the rights of neutrals, and to place on record a protest against such actions. Even although at the time there might have been available no naval or military power with which to enforce such protest, the protest itself would have been of value with reference to the maintenance of the rights of neutrals in future similar wars. Such a league would, I am confident, have proved of material service in placing on record the necessary protests against the serious breaches of neutrality which have occurred from the very beginning of the war.

The fact that by far the larger portion and the more flagrant of these infringements of neutral rights has been on the part of Germany is something for which the league of neutral states would, of course, have had no kind of responsibility.

[*The Letter*]

LONDON, ENGLAND, July 7, 1915.

MY DEAR PUTNAM: It was a pleasure to get your letter. . . . As for the matters of policy which you discuss, I need not say how valuable they are coming from yourself, and I am sure you will understand that anything I say in answer is simply due to my desire that you should understand how some of the matters to which you refer appear to us over here.

While I held the office of ——, I had considerable experience of American claims in the prize court, and in the result it is my clear opinion that the allegations as to delay in proceedings, which I know are from time to time raised by American claimants, have no real foundation in fact. It has happened more than once that when everything was ready it was the American claimants who required further time, and not unreasonably, since they had to communicate with America, and America again might have to communicate with other countries in order to obtain all the proper and necessary material to enable the case to be properly and finally determined.

Let me add one thing more—and here again I feel sure you will not misunderstand me—that most of the American claims with which I had to deal did not impress me with their straight-

forwardness. It happened more than once that Americans who had shipped goods to Germans, and had forwarded to the Germans the bills of lading, and all the commercial documents, thereby of course effecting a complete transfer of the property in the goods, got back the bills from the German consignees and then attempted to claim, by virtue of these documents, to be the owners of the cargo.

You know me well enough to know that I am not so unwise as to think that small individual cases of this kind represent the national attitude or national conduct, but you know also that it is precisely the class of man who puts forward such claims who is the loudest in complaint of the procedure by which his claims have been defeated. It would be indeed easy for a man, without telling all the facts which I have given, to declaim indignantly against an English court which had refused to recognize a title evidenced by bills of lading in American possession. There may be cases not before me in which there has been delay owing to the difficulty of sifting the evidence and getting the matter settled, but the largest cases which have given rise to the greatest complaint are in my best and impartial judgment cases where the real complaint should have lain on our lips, and not on the lips of the American merchants.

With regard to the national attitude toward ourselves, excepting speaking privately to yourself I should not speak at all; but if I tell you personally what we feel it is this—that although there is abundant evidence of sympathy and good-will for our cause, yet we find it a little difficult to understand why the nation did not speak earlier when the rights of liberty, that must be dear to every ear that answers by nature to the English tongue, were being ruthlessly and wantonly trampled under foot.

It may be that the infamy and the perfidy that have laid Belgium waste spoke to us with an added appeal because it meant imminent danger to ourselves. That cannot be overlooked. None the less that the civilized world should have stood by in patience and silence while all the laws of civilization were being broken is a thing which fills us here with some

surprise. I repeat again that you and the very large section of trustworthy American papers did do and would do all that could be done; but I think we did hope that some stern reprimand would have been administered by the nation itself, speaking through official organs, when Germany defied every rule by which civilized nations are bound together. We are fighting desperately for our existence, and, of course, it is hard to understand how other people are entirely unaffected in such a struggle.

(Signed) ————————

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